

# Incident creates hatred against Afghan refugees

From Abdullah Jan

**PESHAWAR:** The hijacking of the school bus by three Afghans from Peshawar has created fear and hatred among the local people against the Afghan refugees in NWFP.

The anti-Afghan feelings among the Peshawarites seem to have increased following the kidnapping of school children. The incident stunned Peshawarites and remained a hot topic of discussion on Monday.

A few small processions were also taken out in the cantonment area to condemn the incident. The processionists, mostly school and college students, chanted slogans against the Afghan refugees and demanded their immediate expulsion from the city. Shopkeepers pulled down shutters and traffic was disrupted during the demonstrations. The processionists marched on different roads of Peshawar Saddar and later dispersed peacefully.

The district administration is also keeping vigil on the refugees in some parts of the city and its suburbs. At certain major roads leading to Peshawar city, police mobile squads stopped Afghan refugees and did not allow them to enter the city. However, inside the city area there was no checking.

People were also critical of the civil administration and held it responsible for the hijacking. "How did the bus travel from Peshawar to Islamabad without being noticed?" asked Mrs Mumtaz, a housewife. She also expressed her surprise over the fact that nobody noticed the three masked kidnappers inside the bus. "The bus passed through busy bazars of Rawalpindi but none saw the masked hijackers with arms in their hands," she added.

It is generally being feared that by hijacking the school bus the three Afghans have set a precedent for more such incidents in the city. "It is only a beginning. Just wait and see what happens next," remarked Hameed Khan, a vendor in the city. He was very critical of the government for allowing the Afghan refugees to have free access to every place in the city.

"We provided them shelter and refuge for 14 long years. But what they are giving us in return, kidnapping our children and making them hostage," regretted Nizamuddin, father of one of the students released Sunday.

A former judge of Peshawar High Court and human rights activist, Qazi Mohammad Jamil, commented: "Our children should not pay for General Zia's policies and fall victim to the lust for power of Afghan warlords."

He demanded an immediate punishment to those involved in this offence.

Taimur Khan, father of another kidnapped student, said the Afghans should immediately be expelled from Peshawar and confined to their camps. "Further delay in this regard would lead to a civil war in NWFP" He feared that such incidents would increase in future. "The government should give it a serious thought."

Contrary to this, the Afghans present in Peshawar have their own version about the hijacking incident and say it is the result of the on-going Islamabad-NWFP tussle. "The centre is involved in this," thought an active worker of an Afghan group. Requesting anonymity, he said this was the result of Pakistan's policies towards Afghanistan. "If you so desire war can be stopped in Kabul," he said adding "thousands of children were being killed in Kabul and its surrounding areas. When the fire reached your house, you started crying."

Parents of the kidnapped students were also planning to file a writ peti-

## Afghan Envoy Urges Slowing Repatriation of Refugees

LD2612101893 Tehran IRNA in English 0953 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 26, IRNA—Afghan ambassador here Seyed Kheyrikhah called on the Iranian Government to slow down the trend of repatriation of Afghan refugees to their homeland, reported the bi-lingual weekly 'KAYHAN HAVAI' in its latest issue.

Kheyrikhah, exclusively interviewed by KAYHAN HAVAI, said that Kabul "cannot prepare enough facilities for the return of more than 300,000 refugees every year."

He called for a reconsideration of a joint proposal by Iran and U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for a "three-year repatriation plan" noting that Afghanistan needed more time to cope with the trend of refugees return.

Some 850,000 Afghan refugees have returned home over the past nine months and over 1,900,000 more are still living in Iran, said the ambassador.

Praising Iran for providing the refugees with proper living conditions, Kheyrikhah criticized the lack of adequate international assistance to refugees and said out of 350,000 Afghan refugees who left Iran, only 50,000 received UNHCR's aids.

**FBIS-NES-93-248**  
29 December 1993

## Libya To Help Water, Electricity Ministry

LD2112193893 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Text] Libya is to help the Ministry of Water and Electricity in various fields. This issue was raised in the meeting of the ambassador of Libya with the esteemed Seyed Mohammed Ayub, minister of water and electricity. The two sides spoke about issues of water and electricity [words indistinct] and the formation of an office of Libya's water and electricity company in Afghanistan.

**FBIS-NES-93-245**  
23 December 1993

tion against the provincial and federal governments for their failure to provide protection to the citizens. "It is for the government to protect our children," said Shaheer Khan. The Afghans were brought in by the government and should be controlled by it, he demanded. **NEWS: 2/22**

**THE MUSLIM** Sunday, February 20, 1994



## 6 truckloads of food leave for Kabul today

From Anjum Niaz

ISLAMABAD, March 1: Six trucks carrying 90 tons of food supplies leave here on Wednesday afternoon for Kabul, a spokesman for the Foreign Office told Dawn on Tuesday.

A UN convoy of six trucks packed with 90 tons of food destined for Kabul leaves Islamabad on Wednesday, said the spokesman.

According to him, plans have already been worked out regarding the distribution of food for the beleaguered city of Kabul.

Three trucks will distribute food in the north, while the remaining three will head for the south of the city, said the spokesman.

According to sources in the Foreign Office, Sardar Assef Ahmad Ali's efforts to send food supplies to Kabul, which has been under siege for weeks, has at last yielded positive results.

It may be recalled that the Foreign Minister who had gone to Jalalabad on Feb 18 to seek guarantees from Prime Minister Hekmatyar for the safe passage of the

## Afghan border to stay closed

From Ihtasham ul Haque

ISLAMABAD, March 1: A high level meeting held here at the President's House under the chairmanship of President Farooq Ahmad Leghari, discussed the current Afghan crisis and the situation in the occupied Kashmir.

Informed sources told Dawn that the meeting decided that Pakistan Afghan border would remain closed for some time and that no pressure would be accepted from any quarter in this behalf.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Minister for Foreign Affairs Sardar Assef Ahmad Ali, Minister for Interior Major General (ret'd) Nasirullah Khan Babar, Secretary Foreign Affairs Shahryar Khan, Secretary Interior Jamshed Burki

and ISI chief Lt Gen Javed Ashraf participated in the meeting.

Sources said it was decided that only those Afghan nationals would be allowed entry in Pakistan who possess passports and certain identity cards.

The participants were of the firm view that the Government should immediately cancel Pakistani passports being possessed by Afghan nationals as it was creating a big law and order problem. Nasirullah Babar reportedly referred to the hijacking of a student bus by three Afghan hijackers last week.

The President and the Prime Minister directed the security institutions to keep strict vigilance

to thwart any such incident in future.

ISI Chief Lt Gen. Javed Ashraf briefed the meeting about the latest situation and said all efforts were being made to unearth Khad and Raw agents, who were out to disrupt the peace of the country.

It was decided that the Ministry of Interior and ISI should jointly launch their fresh efforts to remove all illegal immigrants from the country. In this regard it was also decided that all fake NGOs would be removed from Peshawar and Karachi.

Sources said the meeting also discussed at length human rights situation in occupied Kashmir.

supplies to Kabul, has finally succeeded in persuading the Afghan authorities to allow the distribution of food to Kabul.

Recently Dr Sotiris Mousouris, the Personal Representative of UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, tried to intervene and sent a personal message to Afghan Prime Minister Hekmatyar for transportation of UN convoys carrying food into Kabul which, according to him,

was on the verge of starvation.

The spokesman said that the Government of Pakistan has expressed its appreciation for the positive response from Mr Hekmatyar and would also like to place on record its gratitude to the officials of the UN and other international agencies who have cooperated in working out the modalities of this arrangement between the warring factions.

**DAWN**

Wednesday, March 2, 1994

PT 2/18

## Afghan wounds still bleeding Russians

MOSCOW, Feb. 17: It was 11.35 a.m. when the last Soviet armoured personnel carrier rolled across a bridge over the Amu Darya River, heading back home from Afghanistan.

"Hurry" Col. Alexander Olyinik, a military correspondent who was in that vehicle, wrote down in his notebook.

Then he learned that a friend, Lt. Oleg Motakov, died of his wounds in the border town of Termez. Olyinik rushed to the hospital, only to find out the body had been taken away, leaving an empty, throbbing space.

"The wound of Afghanistan is still bleeding," Olyinik wrote in the military daily *Krasnaya Zvezda* on Tuesday, the fifth anniversary of the Soviet withdrawal.

Feb. 15, 1989 was the bitter and humiliating end of a nine-year, 51-day military adventure launched by the Soviet Union under the declared goal of helping a friendly regime.

"It was always clear to me this was a grave political mistake of the leadership for which the sol-

diers had to pay with their blood and their lives," said former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who finally ordered the army to pull out.

More than a million Afghans reportedly were killed and about 5 million fled the Soviet occupation. The Soviet Union lost 14,454 soldiers, 13,883 of them on the battlefield.

But the bearded Afghan guerrillas, fierce Muslim extremists backed by the United States in their "holy war," would not surrender.

"There was Vietnam. First a limited contingent, then a 500,000-strong US army that crawled back in humiliation," Gorbachev said at Tuesday's Kremlin ceremony marking the anniversary.

"This was a lesson. But we did not learn it. We repeated exactly the same thing. The lessons must be drawn, however bitter they might be," he said.

Deputy Defence Minister Boris Gromov, who supervised the pull-out, argues the Soviets never lost

the war. At a veteran's reunion Tuesday, he also said the continuing civil strife made many Afghans dream of a Russian return.

"Nobody ever ordered us to win a war," Gromov said. "Our task was to prevent bloodshed. We could decide the question of winning a war—at the expense of great blood."

But the book Gromov hoped to close as he walked over the Amu Darya Bridge—the last soldier to leave the Afghan soil—remains open.

Russians are still dying of Afghan bullets, as Russian border guards clash with Muslims guerrillas trying to infiltrate into Tajikistan, a central Asian country with a pro-Moscow government.

Some, like a bereaved mother who addressed the veterans Tuesday, ask if Afghanistan was not enough.

"Our boys are still spilling their blood in those trouble spots...who needs that?" she said tearfully.

Afghanistan's ugly side is surfacing in movies, books and newspapers. The veterans, along

with tales of heroism, speak of drugs, torture, rape and killing that became a way of life.

Svetlana Aleksievich has published a shocking documentary novel called the "Zinc Boys," in reference to Zinc coffins in which the bodies of Soviet soldiers were brought home.

Short stories published last year by Oleg Blotsky, a war veteran turned investigative reporter, depicted senseless violence and army corruption.

Many of the 320,000 veterans find it hard to adjust. The Soviet breakup left no legal base that could secure at least some benefits for the veterans and their families, and economic changes have impoverished many of them.

About 11,000 invalids, including more than 4,500 in Russia, lack proper medical and social care. A comprehensive Russian state plan for helping the veterans and their families has not been implemented, the paper said.—APA

# Diplomats Escape Afghanistan as Brief Truce Stills the Guns

KABUL, Afghanistan, Jan. 8 (Reuters) — A 24-hour cease-fire took effect just after dawn today in Kabul, allowing diplomats to leave after seven days of factional fighting that left sections of the capital in flames.

Two dozen foreigners, including four United Nations staff members and diplomats from Pakistan, India, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Libya, drove out this afternoon in two convoys headed for neighboring Pakistan.

It was unclear whether the convoys would cross into Pakistan through the Khyber Pass or stop for the night in the eastern town of Jalalabad. But some Pakistani and Saudi diplomats, as well as several Indonesians, North Koreans and Iranians and one Palestinian, stayed on. Sudanese diplomats left on Friday.

After the truce began, soldiers loyal to President Burhanuddin Rabbani separated by just 100 yards of road from their enemies, led by Gen. Abdul Rashid Doestam, strolled along Kabul's main front line on the broad Jardi Maiwand Avenue, chatting with passersby and refugees who were taking advantage of the lull to flee after the cease-fire began at 6 A.M.

A spokesman for the Hezbe-Islami faction led by Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, President Rabbani's archrival, said Government jets had violated the cease-fire this morning and bombed the party's headquarters at Charasyab, 15 miles south of Kabul. "We will go ahead with full bombardment if the bombing is not stopped," said the spokesman, Ustad Said, in the Pakistani town of Peshawar.

A few scattered explosions were heard shortly after dawn in Kabul, but they quickly died down, and the city saw its first day of peace since General Doestam, a militia leader from the north, began an artillery bombardment at dawn on New Year's Day.

Kabul's money market was in flames, as were many other buildings. Streets were littered with shrapnel,

rubble and the broken branches of trees hit by rockets. Thousands crowded onto the streets under cover of the brief truce, fleeing for the northwestern suburbs to escape the fighting.

On Friday, the warring factions accepted appeals from Pakistan and the United Nations for the 24-hour cease-fire to allow the evacuation of diplomats after fighting that left hundreds of people dead and more than 3,000 wounded.

Fighting also reportedly died down in northern Mazar-i-Sharif, where General Doestam has been battling to reassert control over the city where his headquarters are based.

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THE MUSLIM Saturday, January 8, 1994

## Pak Embassy in Kabul ransacked

MONITORING REPORT

FEBRUARY, 23: Pakistan Embassy in the Afghan capital Kabul was ransacked on Wednesday by demonstrators protesting against the killing of three gunmen holding school children hostages in the Afghan Embassy in Islamabad. According to an AFP report Pakistani flag was burnt.

The attack came shortly after the arrival in Kabul of Pakistani Foreign Minister Sardar Aseff Ahmed for talks with factional leaders to end the current fighting. President Rabbani and his rival Prime Minister Gulbadin Hekmatyar had agreed to a four-day cease-fire in Kabul on certain conditions.

BBC correspondent in Kabul said Pakistani Foreign Minister came to Kabul on a peace mission. He would see President Professor Rabbani and his main commander Ahmad Shah Masood.

But no longer he had arrived there a noisy demonstration made its way towards Pakistan Embassy in the centre of Kabul. They were demonstrating against the shooting dead of three Afghan gunmen. One of the main demands of the gunmen coincided with the demand of President Rabbani that Prime Minister Gulbadin Hekmatyar lift the food blockade of those areas of Kabul held by the President.

According to Pakistan Charge d'Affaires in Kabul, the demonstrators entered the first floor of the embassy, broke the windows and then spread throughout the building ransacking rooms on all floors. Two Pakistani security guards were injured but not seriously and several other members of staff were badly beaten.

The ground floor, the correspondent said, was a mess of broken chairs and furniture. Almost all the windows on the front of the embassy were broken. It is not clear at this stage what will happen to the visit of Pakistani Foreign Minister.

Security forces were slow in responding to what started as a peaceful march to the downtown embassy. Two badly beaten and bleeding Pakistani staffers narrowly escaped a lynching when they were dragged outside by the enraged crowd.

"The Pakistanis disgraced our embassy in Islamabad. This is our response" one demonstrator told AFP.

"We are determined to have our revenge for our three killed countrymen", another of the furious demonstrators added.

A section of the Afghans maintained that Pakistan was collaborating in a blockade that had kept badly needed food supplies from reaching the war-ravaged Afghan capital. Aseff Ali was not at the embassy when the attack took place around 4:30 pm (1200 GMT). He was believed to be headed to a meeting with Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani.

There were several other anti-Pakistan demonstrations around the capital on Wednesday, but the one at the embassy was the most serious, said Afghan officials.

Meanwhile, the foreign office in Pakistan on Wednesday deplored the attack on Pakistan Embassy. A foreign office spokesman said "We deeply regret that no appropriate measures were taken to protect the embassy and its personnel. We expect that those responsible will be given exemplary punishment."

The Muslim 2/24



Pakistan's embassy in Kabul was sacked by a mob after three Afghans had been shot dead by Pakistani soldiers in Islamabad. The Afghans had been holding children hostage and demanding food for Afghanistan.

# Rabbani's Forces Made Gains in Latest Fighting

Fighting eased in Kabul in the last week of January and early February but the first three weeks of January resulted in thousands of casualties.

According to figures released by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) there were 9,593 casualties admitted to the 10 functioning hospitals in Kabul for the first 21 days of January, with an estimated 700 to 800 killed.

However Red Cross officials pointed out that perhaps more than 2000 of those treated in the various hospitals were injured in previous clashes and were merely returning for fresh treatments.

The relative calm in Kabul in the last couple of weeks has enabled residents living along the frontline to flee their apartments for safer northwestern parts of the capital.

During the three weeks of heavy fighting civilians living in the newly constructed Microrayan housing estates were inflicted with intense artillery barrages by the ethnically Uzbek militia forces of ex-communist General Abdul Rashid Dostum. On January 23, they were further exposed to jet bombings.

Three bombs weighing 500-kg's each were dropped by a Dostum jet on the housing estates, narrowly missing two six-story housing blocks but causing no casualties.

"It was like an earthquake. The whole building started to shake and I thought it would collapse on our heads," said a father of seven children, who survived the attack.

Dostum has allied his forces with his bitterest former foe Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar who leads the largely Pushtun Hizb al-Islami, and the forces of former President Sibghatullah Mujaheddi

## Relative Calm Returns to Kabul After Three Weeks of Heavy Fighting

against the forces of President Burhanuddin Rabbani.

Maulawi Yunis Khalis who leads a breakaway Hizb al-Islami group, Professor Abd rab al-Rasul Sayyaf who heads the Ittihad al-Islami, Maulawi Nabi Muhammadi who heads the Harakat Inqilab Islami and Ayatollah Asaf Mohseni of the Harakat Islami have remained loyal to President Rabbani. The pro-Iranian Hizb al-Wahdat has remained neutral in the latest fighting.

The Dostum-led offensive was aimed at capturing key positions such as the presidential palace, radio and TV station, and the airport, which had already been partly controlled by Dostum. However Rabbani's forces led by Ahmed Massoud were able to hold back the Dostum-led coalition and ultimately even make some gains of their own. Pro-Rabbani commanders captured the entire airport and even undertook attacks on Dostum's stronghold in Mazar-e-Sharif in northern Afghanistan. Numerous key points were captured from Dostum's forces.

The jet attack seemed to be a last

ditch attempt by Dostum to secure some gains and came after seven of his jet pilots defected with their jets to Rabbani controlled air bases.

Despite Rabbani gains in the latest fighting, parts of Kabul as well as outlying areas remain in the hands of anti-Rabbani forces which are capable of exposing the capital to continued artillery attacks.

Pakistan has been working to bring Afghanistan's different factional leaders together for talks on bringing the fighting in Kabul to a peaceful conclusion.

A spokesman for Pakistan's foreign ministry, Mohammed Salim, said that previous peace pacts have failed because Gen. Dostum was excluded and is insisting that a Dostum representative attends future talks to better insure a lasting peace.

"Pakistan is hopeful that this time it will succeed in bringing about peace in Afghanistan," said Salim, "Dostum's representative will be attending, which reflects a consensus on the part of the Afghan leaders and shows how serious they are this time around."

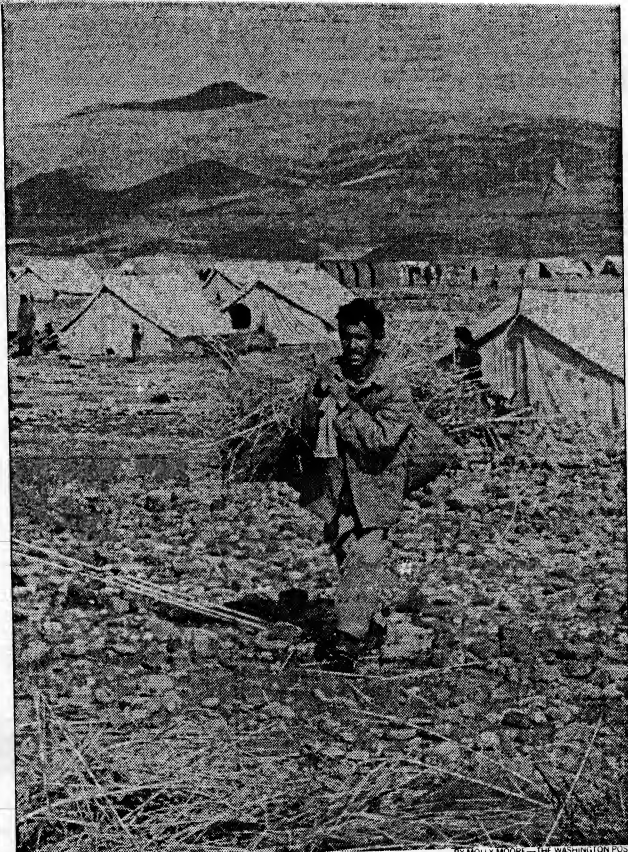
Pakistan has traditionally been closest to Hekmatyar.



The fighting in early January resulted in the destruction of scores of homes and buildings in Kabul.

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BY MOLLY MOORE—THE WASHINGTON POST

On a field where land mines killed three people, an Afghan refugee collects straw for fuel.

## A Long March From Kabul

By Molly Moore  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JALALABAD, Afghanistan—The rockets and artillery shells that smashed into Shah Zia's house in Kabul drove her here a few days later, to a muddy roadside, where the shivering woman squatted and began to give birth in the pouring winter rain.

Zia is among the estimated 150,000 people who have escaped the most violent siege of Kabul since warring factional leaders began shelling the Afghan capital almost two years ago. The exodus has been so massive in the past four weeks that refugees have overwhelmed relief agencies, leaving tens of thousands living on barren plains strewn with land mines, without adequate food and in the midst of the Afghan winter.

"My house, everything I owned, was destroyed," said the 20-year-old Zia, who spent the past week shuffling her newborn and four other children from tent to tent, relying on the generosity of refugees who were fortunate enough to get tents before the United Nations relief effort ran out. "I was able to pull only myself and my children from the war zone."

Since the New Year's Day siege began, an estimated 1,000 people have been killed in Kabul and more than half of the city's dwindling population have fled their homes, according to international relief agencies. The growing number of people seeking aid here has been exacerbated by neighboring Pakistan's decision to bar refugees from crossing its borders and by a

week-old blockade of Kabul. Refugees and relief agencies say the blockade is creating food shortages and has driven the prices of existing food supplies out of the reach of many city residents.

Almost as many civilians have been killed in the last eight weeks in Kabul as were killed in the last eight months in Sarajevo, where 1,097 have died since May 1993. But Afghanistan has received only a fraction of the international attention, a reflection of how the end of the Cold War eliminated its strategic importance to the United States and the former Soviet Union.

The tide of refugees leaving Kabul has swelled so rapidly that the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees—which set up a camp on a plain that was once one of Afghanistan's biggest battlefields and still has land mines—is unable to meet the demand.

While 48,000 people have been supplied with tents, blankets and minimal food rations at the camp, more than 30,000 others line the roads and live in the rocky, treeless fields, awaiting shelter and provisions at the Sarshahi Camp near Jalalabad, 80 miles east of Kabul. An additional 2,000 new refugees arrive daily.

Jalalabad, a dusty city of about 400,000 that has been hard-hit by the influx, is jammed with refugees selling their remaining possessions to raise money for food.

"There are such a massive number of people in the camps, we haven't been able to get enough food and supplies to meet the demand," said Jeremy Hartley, who heads the UNICEF program for the refugees in Jalalabad.

Afghan and international relief officials say they are facing the biggest aid crisis in Afghanistan since the communist government of then-President Najibullah fell in the spring of 1992. "If something is not done, the situation will get very bad very quickly," said William Huth, Afghanistan country director for CARE.

Throughout the 14-year war between the Soviet-backed communist government and the U.S.-supported *mujaheddin* guerrillas, heavily defended Kabul escaped unscathed and its population swelled with civilians fleeing fighting in outlying areas.

But since the fall of Najibullah, Kabul has become the focus of a power struggle among warring factional leaders vying for control of the capital. The city has been under nearly constant siege since August 1992. It suffered the most deadly attack on New Year's Day, when the country's prime minister, Gulbuddin Hekma-



tyar, and one its most powerful factional leaders, Gen. Abdurrahshid Dastoum, joined forces in an attempt to overthrow President Burhanuddin Rabbani.

In the past seven weeks of fighting—in which neither side has made major gains—entire neighborhoods have been flattened by bombing raids and artillery barrages, an estimated 1,000 people have been killed and hundreds more have been wounded, according to international relief agencies. They estimate Kabul's population has shrunk from more than 2 million two years ago to less than 700,000 today.

The International Committee of the Red Cross reported this week that about 300,000 people are refugees within Kabul, moving from their homes in battered neighborhoods to sections of the city that have had less shelling. Red Cross officials said about 50,000 people in the city are homeless, living in mosques, bombed-out schools and other public buildings.

Relief workers said that for the past two weeks, Hekmatyar's gunmen have stolen some truckloads of wheat and other foods and have not allowed local merchants to bring produce and grains into the city. After aid workers warned that many of the homeless people in the city could face starvation if the food blockade continued, Hekmatyar on Wednesday announced he would allow a small U.N. convoy carrying emergency provisions to enter Kabul later this week.

Refugees interviewed at the Sarshahi Camp this week painted a grim picture of the chaos and anarchy they say forced them to leave the capital city.

"My house is on the front lines," said Gul Rahman, a shopkeeper who fled with his wife and six children after a rocket pierced the front door of his house and slammed into his living room. His family was hiding in the basement when the rocket hit.

"We never knew who was firing at us," said Rahman, as he helped several other men dig a latrine in the rocky ground of the camp. "The rockets were coming from all over. Those being killed are all . . . mostly women, children and the elderly."

Many families waited weeks before the shelling abated enough for them to leave their neighborhoods and find escape routes from the city.

Mohammed Akbar, 35, said that he, his wife and their four children raced from their house, leaving all their possessions behind, after six

rockets crashed into the neighborhood. "It was an escape from death," he said.

"It's very cold here, and my kids don't have enough clothes," said his 26-year-old wife, Mahnaz. "The children take turns wearing the warm clothes."

Aid workers said conditions are particularly brutal on the latest flood of refugees, many of whom are urban, middle-class families with professional backgrounds.

"These people coming out now are a different class of people than traditional refugees," said Huth, the CARE official. "They are people not used to being poor."

Spoghmay, 25, who uses only one name, was a doctor at one of Kabul's few functioning hospitals when she fled a rocket attack on her neighborhood three weeks ago.

"My husband was separated from us, and I don't know if he's alive," she said. "I reached this camp and was given three blankets. My three children are cold all the time."

Spoghmay escaped with some medicine and travels into Jalalabad every few days to scavenge for supplies that she then dispenses free to other refugees in her block of tents.

Although several relief agencies have established makeshift clinics at the camp—some housed in surplus U.S. military tents—medical care remains extremely limited and overtaxed.

The camp has proved no safe haven for some refugees. At least three people, including a young boy, have been killed and several others injured by mines inside the encampment area. About 1,000 mines and other left-

over ordnance of the war have been unearthed by de-mining teams in the camp, officials said. Although vast areas have been marked with stones painted red as warning, refugees continue to roam through the areas in search of straw and wood for cooking fires.

Officials from the United Nations and from Pakistan and other Islamic states who have attempted to broker a peace accord among the warring factions are pessimistic about stopping the fighting in the near future. A U.N. team is considering visiting Kabul next month to discuss terms for peace talks.

For the displaced residents of Kabul who endured the "holy war" against the communist government, only to find themselves the victims of a power struggle among factional leaders whose ancestors have been fighting for centuries, the future looks dismal.

"There is no hope of peace or of us returning to Kabul," said Rahman, the shopkeeper digging the latrine. "None of them [the leaders] care about the people. It's just fighting for the sake of power."

#### THE WASHINGTON POST

MARCH 4, 1994



Afghan girl who fled war-ravaged Kabul with her family sits amid family's few possessions at camp near Jalalabad.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

# The Agony Of Victory

## Our Cold War Triumph Is Afghanistan's Tragedy

By Steve Coll

**W**AR BEGAN in Afghanistan again at the new year. It made no impression on anyone but the Afghans. More than a thousand casualties in a week, fighter jets streaking through the skies, bombs and rockets pounding schools and hospitals, panicked refugees fleeing through broken valleys—it's become by now like some archival newsreel. It makes no sound. Outside the country's borders the war exists primarily in the memories of those who recall its days of geopolitical grandeur, long since passed.

There are few claims that can be made for this war anymore other than the unrivaled extent of its squalor. Human rights and humanitarian groups find it tiresome to press even those claims in the face of profound disinterest. The obvious, hand-wringing cry—that the United States has abandoned Afghanistan cynically after co-sponsoring its civil war and blindly arming its present combatants—has congealed into a cliché. It's true, of course, but it's also banal.

Less obvious are the ways that Afghanistan's own leaders, some of them recently feted in the West as epochal guerrilla strategists and great warrior-statesmen, are betraying with remarkable mendacity the faith invested in them by Afghanistan's long-suffering civilian population. Left to their own devices, they are transforming one of the Cold War's last symbolic victories into a terrible defeat.

In April 1992, the Afghan capital of Kabul fell to swarms of U.S.-backed *mujaheddin* rebels. Afghan civilians embraced one another on the streets and stuck flowers in tank gun barrels. Hundreds of thousands of exiled refugees poured home from Pakistan, bouncing across the Khyber Pass in ramshackle trucks. In the West there were banner headlines and expressions of optimism that the U.S.-backed Islamic rebels had finally succeeded after "a long and bitter struggle for self-determination which won admiration and support from around the world," as then State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler put it.

Since then, the Afghan rebel leaders have succeeded only in smashing Afghanistan into so many pieces that its centers of power today verge on the molecular.

The country's prospects for sustained unity, peace and self-determination are dimmer even than Somalia's. The United Nations has pulled back. Humanitarian aid has dwindled



BY JANUSZ KAPUSTA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Steve Coll is a London-based correspondent for *The Washington Post*. His book, "On the Grand Trunk Road: A Journey Into South Asia," is published this month by Times Books.

to a trickle. Charities find that even campaigns to feed Afghanistan's accessible malnourished are a tough sell.

And by now, none of the old mujaheddin heroes and warriors formerly celebrated on Western television and in print can escape a share of responsibility for this cataclysm.

Certainly not Ahmed Shah Massoud, the romanticized "Lion of Pansheer" and a guerrilla leader of 1980s Western media fame. His allies and soldiers began pounding refugee-laden Mazar-i-Sharif in the north after the new year, forcing the evacuation of U.N. staff who passed food to the hungry and supplies to the local medical clinics. Several times since 1992, and most recently last week, Massoud has proven unable to hold a multi-ethnic coalition together and unwilling to ease his grip on power in the capital. Non-Afghan mediators involved say that for all his statesmanlike press clippings, Massoud has demonstrated amply since the mujaheddin victory that his appetite for power and his taste for fratricidal vengeance run as deep as anyone's.

At least Massoud has a specific military objective in this latest violence: He seeks to control Afghanistan's fragmented north, where his Tajik ethnic group has traditionally lived, and to where they may eventually need to retire. Tajiks have held power in Kabul only once before this century, and then briefly. Massoud has accumulated enough U.S.-funded weaponry to ensure that any repetition of such a Tajik withdrawal from the capital will be a bloody and prolonged affair.

**N**o such clear military rationale is available to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, one-time darling of Western intelligence agencies. For two long years, despite countless attempts to persuade him to reconcile peacefully with his former rebel comrades, Hekmatyar has sat in the treeless valleys south of Kabul and lobbed rockets at the capital's civilian population. In military terms, all Hekmatyar has achieved is a sufficient level of public terror to ensure his continued involvement in sporadic power-sharing talks. The cost so far in Afghan lives is several thousand and counting. More civilians have died in Kabul since the mujaheddin victory than during the entire Soviet occupation.

The recent bloodletting by ethnic forces loyal to Hekmatyar and Massoud is enough to provoke twinges of nostalgia for former President Najibullah, the thuggish ex-communist and former secret police chief whose supposed crafty staying power in Kabul was the subject of so much public American anguish after 1989.

Najibullah has been imprisoned for nearly two years after trying but failing to escape Afghanistan on a U.N. jet as Kabul fell to the mujaheddin. Before this ignoble end, his posture was to insist loudly that if he surrendered power, violent anarchy would ensue. He insisted further that all-party talks sponsored by outside powers were necessary to prevent such anarchy. His pleas were reject-

ed in Washington as self-serving, which they certainly were, and as too late to make any difference, which now looks debatable at the least.

But if Najibullah is gone, he's not forgotten. That's because he has bequeathed to Afghanistan his longtime proxy, Abdul Rashid Dostam, a former Communist general and powerful ethnic Uzbek militia leader who did much of Najibullah's fighting when the president was trying to keep the mujaheddin from his doorstep. Dostam's defection to the rebel side in 1992 was Najibullah's undoing and was welcomed in many quarters in the West. Now Dostam is contributing vigorously to Afghanistan's undoing.

For more than a year after Kabul fell, Dostam maintained a tentative alliance with Massoud. He won praise abroad for seeking stability in Afghanistan by providing muscle to an alliance of northern ethnic and religious groups. Last week he manipulated a new coalition (centered on himself), broke with Massoud and went back to war, sending jets in from his Mazar-e-Sharif base to pound Kabul targets, including civilian neighborhoods. Several thousand of his fierce Uzbek militiamen are currently holed up in Kabul's historic Bala Hissar fort, where they evidently are prepared for a bloody siege in a neighborhood surrounded by dense civilian tenements.

So many myths and assumptions about Afghanistan have been deflated by now that it's hard to remember they were all so recently and so widely credited in the West, amid the ideological enthusiasm of the late Cold War period.

The most damaging assumption was that Afghanistan did not require or merit sustained, committed, balanced outside political mediation such as is being attempted currently in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia, and as was carried off in Cambodia.

This folly stemmed from many factors. But primarily, too few recognized how ideological civil war in the 1980s had scrambled disastrously Afghanistan's indigenous political, ethnic, religious and tribal arrangements. Most of those in Washington who did see the impending crackup considered it inconvenient, or insurmountable, or both. The few independent specialists who spoke out publicly, such as Barnett Rubin of Columbia University, were sometimes dismissed as hysterics.

The Soviets invaded Afghanistan; in considering the legacy of the ensuing war, their central aggression must be emphasized. But that is not all of it, either. During the Bush administration's momentous push-and-pull with Mikhail Gorbachev, U.S. policymakers found playing hardball in Afghanistan a useful stroke in the larger Cold War endgame, even after Soviet occupation forces withdrew from the country in January 1989. American support for a workable political settlement came late, lasted briefly and lacked coherence. For much of the time U.S. policymakers preferred what

they termed a "two-track" approach, meaning a combination of weapons and words. Just one track survives today in Kabul.

Only the most naive interventionist would argue that outsiders can rescue Afghans from their own reckonings. Probably that was true all along. This, presumably, is the comfort available now to all those who walked away, including the Russians. But a declaration that responsibility for Afghanistan lies with the Afghans cannot erase the history outsiders made there.

For more than a decade thousands of Afghan civilians stranded amid superpower proxy war sat up at night listening to the Voice of America on shortwave radios, attentive to news and to expressions of sympathy from abroad. It is hard to imagine that they bother with that much anymore.

#### THE WASHINGTON POST

JANUARY 23

KABUL MUSEUM UPDATE *Frontier Post* 1/13



## Afghan palace compound catches fire

KABUL, Jan 6: The presidential palace compound caught fire after being hit by rebel factions Thursday, the sixth straight day of intense battles for control of the capital, reports AP.

Also, the city's five hospitals said more than 3,000 people have been treated since the fighting broke out January 1. The death toll is believed to be in the hundreds as the rival Islamic group wage some of the fiercest fighting since they overthrew a Communist government in 1992.

The presidential compound, a series of buildings that's been a frequent target in recent days, was again hit, apparently by ar-

tillery fire. Palls of black smoke rose over the city centre late Thursday afternoon.

President Burhanuddin Rabbani is believed to be on the palace grounds, but state radio and television has been off the air since the fighting began, and he has not been heard from. It was not immediately clear how extensive the damage was.

Rabbani's forces did not appear to lose any territory and they counterattacked with day-long bombing raids in the south and the east of the city.

They targeted neighbourhoods controlled by warlord Rashid Dostum, a former general under the previous Communist government.

#### ED GRAZDA AFGHANISTAN

1980-1989 is a photographic record of photographer Ed Grazda's many trips in Afghanistan with the mujahideen. The book was published in 1990 by Verlag Der Alltag. The US distributor is at 636 Broadway, New York, NY 10012. Support for the publication came from the New York Foundation for the Arts & the Nat'l Endowment for the Arts.. The text is in German & English. 139 pp. Paper. ISBN 3-907509-12-9.

The Daily Star

DHAKA 1/7



# On the Khyber Road, the Afghans Shall Not Pass

By HENRY KAMM  
Special to The New York Times

TORKHAM, Pakistan, Jan. 17 — "It breaks our heart," the Pakistani Army captain said. "They're our own people."

But he and the major in charge, watched by the Khyber Rifles' regimental commander from a discreet distance, continued to urge their men to push back through the gate into Afghanistan the swarms of refugees, jostling, ducking and dodging as they sought safety here from the new wave of warfare that broke out in Kabul, the Afghan capital, on Jan. 1.

For 11 days, Pakistan kept its border open, as it had since Soviet forces swept into Afghanistan in 1979. Until the Communist Government was ousted in 1992, about three million Afghans found refuge in Pakistan.

Half are believed to have returned to Afghanistan since that brief moment of hope. But repatriation stopped when the war between the many factions that made up the resistance, joined by the now factionalized former Communist commanders, banished hope.

## Chaos at the Border

Last week the Government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto ordered the border closed to refugees. The decline in world concern over Afghanistan, now that the United States is no longer fighting the Soviet Union there by proxy, evidently makes Pakistan fear that it will be left to foot the cost of caring for a new inflow from its meager resources. A request from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to maintain the right to asylum for those fleeing has brought no change.

In his office in Peshawar, the provincial capital, Farid Ullah Khan, Deputy Provincial Refugee Commissioner, said about 1,200 families were admitted before the border was sealed.

The scene at the border here, at the western end of the Khyber Pass, was chaotic. An unending line of mainly empty Afghan and Pakistani trucks, battered carriers garishly decorated in intense colors, waited for entrance into Pakistan. Many have been chartered by United Nations agencies to carry food, tents and other prime needs to Kabul refugees who are camping around the edge of Jalalabad, 58 miles from here on the road to Kabul. A Pakistani official here put their number at 45,000 and rising.

Other trucks had delivered commercial or relief cargo to the former Soviet republics of Central Asia, and yet others carried large quantities of consumer goods that arrived by sea in Karachi, Pakistan's main port.

Each time the rickety gate, just wide enough to admit a truck, was opened to allow a vehicle into Pakistan, scores of women, men and children, some men carrying sick or aged relatives, tried to rush or sneak in.

Ragtag soldiers of Yunus Khalis, one of the seven warlords armed and financed by the United States to fight the Soviet Army, tried to beat them back to the Afghan side, using rifle butts, sticks and branches. Those who

made it past them were cajoled or pushed back, more gently, by Pakistani soldiers.

Several times the major cautioned his troops to use no force, miming for them how to do it. A Pakistani employee of the United Nations refugee agency monitoring the reception said the Pakistani troops behaved humanely, the Afghans brutally.

"They are wild people," the captain said after one young Afghan was severely thrashed by four or five of the irregulars, who backed him against the border gate. He said that on Sunday a Norwegian aid worker, leaving Afghanistan after two years, and a Pakistani doctor were beaten for no discernible reason.

Mr. Khalis, who reigns over the region between here and Jalalabad, has not taken up residence in his own country but remains in Peshawar, which continues to serve as the capital of most of the formerly American-backed faction leaders and their aides. Even those who have gone home, President Burhanuddin Rabbani and Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, maintain their families in residences there.

The Pakistanis did not hide their distaste for refusing the Afghans haven because they said the asylum seekers were fellow Muslims and most were of the Pashtun ethnic group, to which many of the officers and most of the soldiers also belong.

"I don't care about the men," a regional government official said.

"They're no good. But the children and the ladies! The Prime Minister did the right thing; one has to see the national interest."

Velled women of the Shinwari tribe which is split on both sides of a border its members have never recognized continued to pass: freely in both directions. Neither the British colonial rulers nor any Pakistani Government has ever been able to exercise full control over the tribal areas of North West Frontier Province.

A hillock next to the border crossing provides a clear view of a large field below. Trucks that had passed the border could be seen they were freed of their loads of Jai news television sets or Russian refrigerators and air-conditioners.

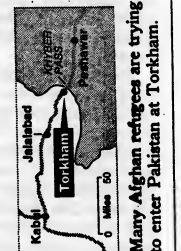
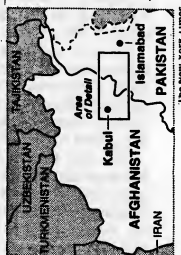
The goods are officially consigned to landlocked Afghanistan. But loaded onto camels and mules, they were smuggled back over mountain trails to the country they just left. Empty trucks joined those waiting return to Pakistan.

"To these people, this is commerce not smuggling," a high official said. "And anyway, there is no other way of earning your keep in these mountains."

High walls along the Khyber Road hide the palatial homes of tribal chiefs who have done better than earn their keep. Opium grown on both sides of the border and refined on this side is said by the United States to produce one-quarter of the hero sold on American streets.



Refugees from the fighting in Afghanistan were blocked at the Khyber Pass from crossing into Pakistan where the border has been sealed. Shinwari tribal people, who live on both sides, crossed unhampered.



Many Afghan refugees are trying to enter Pakistan at Torkham.

NYT 1/20

# Tajik Refugees: Prisoners of Fear in a Foreign Land

■ About half of those who fled to Afghanistan to escape civil war have returned. But thousands are daunted by tales of death.

By IAN MacWILLIAM  
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

**K**UNDUZ, Afghanistan—The tent is swept clean and the bedding neatly folded against the wall. Kalandar Mahmadvazar sits cross-legged while his wife and daughters kneel behind a low table, covering their faces from the strangers at the door.

"It's hard to live here in the winter," says Mahmadvazar, a refugee from Tajikistan. "But the Communists burned our houses. We escaped because they tried to kill us. They accused us of being Muslim extremists."

Not long ago he got a letter from home, about the new farmhouse he had built just before leaving. The letter said the roof had been stolen.

It has been a year since Mahmadvazar fled with his 13 children from the civil war in his former Soviet republic, joining an exodus of about 70,000 to Afghanistan. War has since given way to occasional skirmishes; about half the refugees have returned under a U.N. repatriation program. The rest are still in Afghanistan, held back by their leaders-in-exile or their own fears.

More than 20,000 people died in the fighting in 1992 and early 1993, when the Communist elite that ruled Tajikistan in Soviet days defeated an insurgency led by Islamic and democratic parties. Opposition leaders were imprisoned, killed or driven into exile.

After regaining control, the Russian-backed regime began repatriating refugees last April, hoping to dry up the pool of anti-government guerrillas and take the economically shattered country off a war footing. At least 18 returning refugees were killed in reprisals in the early stages. But U.N. officials now say security is good.

**R**efugees here, however, have been told little about the repatriation option. Asked about their plans, most mention the killings as an obstacle.

"If there is security, everyone will go," one old man in the Kunduz camp said.

"I'll go back when Tajikistan is free," said Abdul Karim, a young man drawing water from a well, who came here with his wife and 4-year-old son a year ago.

Tajik refugee children in the harsh Afghan camps, where there are no telephones, electricity or the amenities of home.

Of the original 70,000 refugees in Afghanistan, 36,000 have returned to Tajikistan, 18,000 remain in a camp near Mazar-i-Sharif, 15,000 in Kunduz and 1,000 in Talokan, U.N. officials say.

Their life is harsh here in Kunduz—no electricity, telephones and other amenities they took for granted in Tajikistan. They subsist on dry bread that townspeople use for animal fodder.

**T**he United Nations stopped giving food aid to refugees here after an attack on one of its officials a year ago. "We were told in various ways that we were not welcome," another U.N. official said. When Tajik opposition leaders refused to let the United Nations distribute the food, its mission left.

Behind the dispute, U.N. officials say, is an effort by opposition leaders to block repatriation, which threatens to undermine their political base. These leaders maintain publicly that there are 80,000 refugees in the camps and that "only a few" have returned to Tajikistan. "We could have repatriated the lot if it hadn't been for constant harassment," the U.N. official said.

Opposition leaders are especially resistant because the Tajik government refuses to negotiate with them. As long as it is in power, they might never be allowed to return.

In the leafy town of Talokan sits one such leader, Sayed Abdullah Nuri, in an office furnished in the spare Afghan style. He claims that 5,000 armed fighters are under his leadership and that they control most of the Pamir mountain region of eastern Tajikistan.

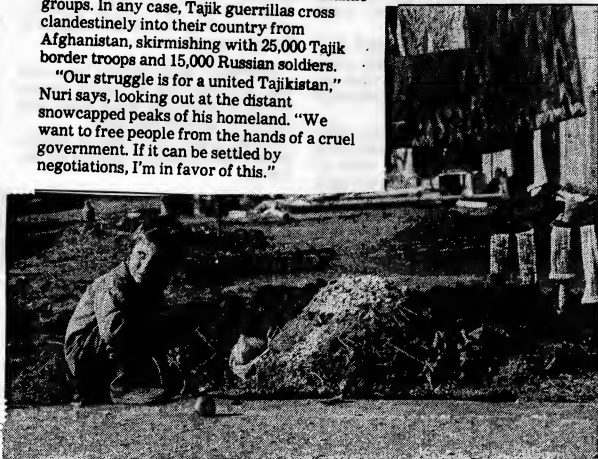
While the Tajik government claims it is fighting a holy war against Islamic militants, there is little evidence in the refugee camps of fundamentalist fervor or significant military aid from Afghan *mujahadeen* or Arab Islamic groups. In any case, Tajik guerrillas cross clandestinely into their country from Afghanistan, skirmishing with 25,000 Tajik border troops and 15,000 Russian soldiers.

"Our struggle is for a united Tajikistan," Nuri says, looking out at the distant snowcapped peaks of his homeland. "We want to free people from the hands of a cruel government. If it can be settled by negotiations, I'm in favor of this."



LOS ANGELES TIMES

FEBRUARY 5



Photos by IAN MacWILLIAM / For The Times

شوال - ذو القعدة ١٤١٤  
March - April 1994

١٣٧٣ هـ

From the Editor:

Nawroz greetings to our Afghan readers. We hope you enjoy the computer-made calendar pages on the right. (From a reader.) In spite of the dearth of news on Afghanistan in the US press, this issue is filled to the brim. Unfortunately, most of the news is not good. Maybe next year... But our thanks to all of you who sent us material. Please continue; the deadline for the next issue is May 1.

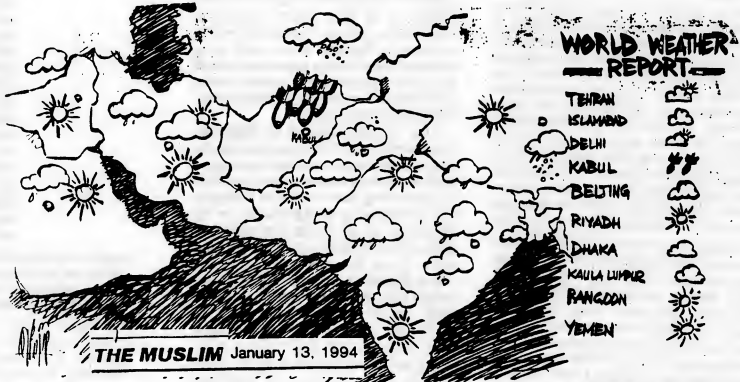
A note on the FBIS transcripts: FBIS Daily Reports are published by the US Gov't. They contain information from foreign radio & TV broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books & periodicals. The Reports do not represent the views of the US Gov't. Foreign language sources are translated. The original source is cited at the beginning of the item. The FBIS issue number is in bold face type as is the date of the issue.

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ذو القعدة - ذو الحجة ١٤١٤  
April - May 1994

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جمعة	يوم	يوم	يوم	يوم	يوم	يوم
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# Tashkent meddling in Afghan war, says official



Dostam

**KABUL (AFP)** — Afghanistan's northern neighbor, the former Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, is accused of aiding a rebel faction fighting to overthrow President Burhanuddin Rabbani, according to an official spokesman in Kabul Sunday.

"We have clear-cut evidence about direct interference by Uzbekistan in the Kabul fighting," presidential spokesman Abdul Aziz Morad told AFP.

Morad said the former communist militia warlord, Uzbek General Abdul Rashid Dostam, who launched a failed coup attempt in the capital on New Year's Day, had received much military support for the one-month long Kabul factional fighting.

He went so far as to say that representatives of Dostam met with government officials in the Uzbek capital Tashkent in order to help plan to coup attempt in Kabul.

"Many facilities, both military and economic, have been put at Dostam's disposal by Uzbekistan," Morad said.

He accused Uzbekistan of not only supplying Dostam with jets, aircraft spare-parts and the construction of a military airstrip, but also of launching air raids over Kabul and other targets from inside Uzbekistan itself.

Although Morad said it was not clear if the Uzbek interference in Afghanistan originated from the highest official level, he nevertheless demanded that a joint Afghan-Uzbek commission be appointed to investigate the charges.

The rumble of anti-aircraft fire over the capital followed three raids on Kabul by Dostam jets before midday Sunday, with bombs exploding at the foot of the strategic "television mountain," which houses a lot of heavy artillery.

Meanwhile, fighting intensified Sunday in northern Baghlan province, where a spokesman for Hekmatyar's Hezb faction said an offensive by pro-Rabbani forces had been repulsed.

The coalition forces fired two long-range Luna missiles on the presidential troops in the Nahrin district, while infantry troops were also making advances towards the garrison, said Hezb spokesman Qaribur Rehman Saeed in the bordering Pakistani city of Peshawar.

He said one of the missiles, having a range of 80 to 90 kilometers landed in the military base built by the former Soviet troops while the other landed in Nahrin's bazaar. Details of the losses were not available, he said.

Saeed, giving importance to the opening of the new front in the north amid a slowdown in the Kabul fighting, said the anti-Rabbani coalition's strategy appeared to be to engage troops of the president's main commander, Ahmed Shah Masood, in his northern strongholds and ultimately reach Jabalus Siraj.

The highway town of Jabalus Siraj, in the south of Baghlan, is Masood's last major base north of Kabul, he added.

He said Masood had already brought troops to Kabul from his northern bases, and his Nahrin commander, Abdul Haye, was facing a shortage of manpower.

Morad was keen to note that pro-Rabbani jets, which fly out of the Soviet-built Bagram airbase 50 kilometers north of Kabul, are also active in the factional fighting.

Apart from the air raids, Kabul was largely spared the punishment of bombardment Sunday, with merely a handful of rockets exchange and quiet frontlines; this unusual lull in hostilities prompted some locals to speculate on the prospect of a ceasefire.

Dostam's ally, Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, is reported to be open to ceasefire negotiations if there was international backing, but his rival Rabbani appears sceptical of such moves.

Neither the United Nations nor any other foreign country has raised any popular and acceptable proposal to solve the Afghan crisis," Morad said.

Morad summarized by saying that the Dostam-Hekmatyar alliance has become weakened, was now on the defensive, and was looking for political solutions to its military problems.

Meanwhile, the president's forces said, they shot down two jet fighters Sunday belonging to Dostam whose pilots have repeatedly bombed the capital.

Fighter planes controlled by Dostam blasted Kabul overnight and into the day Sunday.

Rabbani's forces said their aircraft retaliated and shot down two of Dostam's Soviet-built SU-22 fighters Sunday morning outside the beleaguered capital.

In one instance, the Dostam pilot bailed out and survived with only slight injuries when his plane was hit and went down near Charikar, 50 kilometers north of Kabul.

# Rebel bombs, rockets hit Kabul: Afghan radio

**ISLAMABAD (R)** — Rebels fighting Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani attacked residential areas of the capital Kabul with bombs and rockets on Saturday, killing and wounding several people, official Kabul Radio said.

Six rebel planes bombed several districts seven times, killing or wounding an unspecified number of people as factional fighting entered its fifth week, according to the broadcast monitored in Islamabad.

The forces of an anti-Rabbani council led by Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and northern warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostum fired 80 rockets and mortar bombs, it said.

The two sides also fired at each other's positions with artillery and machineguns, Afghan sources in the northwestern Pakistani town of Peshawar said.

They said the fighting, which began on January 1, was not as intense as on the previous two days.

The defense ministry was among targets hit by planes controlled by Dostum, the sources said.

Both sides have ignored international calls for a ceasefire in 29 days of fighting in which an estimated 700 people have been killed and more than 7,000 wounded.

In the latest destruction, the huge Pushtun market that runs alongside the Kabul river near downtown was badly damaged by fire, witnesses said. The cause was not immediately clear.

Some sources said it was looted by unidentified soldiers and then set alight. Other sources said the hotly contested area caught fire after it was hit by a rocket or a bomb.

The fire brigade attempted to put out the blaze, which covered almost a full block and sent huge plumes of smoke into the winter sky. However, the brigade's only tanker ran out of water and the fire continued to rage the evening.

Until the latest round of fighting erupted, the market was bustling with hundreds of businesses run by small shopkeepers.

Riyadh Daily 1/30

**Riyadh Daily**

JANUARY 31, 1994



Hekmatyar



Rabbani

## Decree Reverses Communist Land Distribution

LD2812215093 *Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 28 Dec 93*

[Text] The press office of the Presidency reported to us that a decree of esteemed Professor Borhanoddin Rab-bani, president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan [ISA], on the revocation of the law of regulating land relations [da zmaki monasebat], the rehabilitation of the rights of the original owners of land, and the requisition of the distributed land whose ownership had either been revoked or disrupted after 7 Sawr 1357 [28 April 1978] by legal documents of the regime of that time, has been issued with the following text:

In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful:

### Article I

With adherence to principles of the distinguished religion of Islam, this decree is being issued to rehabilitate the lost rights of the original owners of land and to remove the problems that have been caused by Decree No. 8 of the then revolutionary council and the implementation of the related annexes, by the law of regulating land relations dated 15 Dalw 1366 [4 February 1987], published in issue No. 685 of the Official Gazette, and other decrees and by the implementation of the orders related to land distribution.

### Article II

The following action should be taken regarding a person who was previously considered entitled and who acquired land under documents mentioned in Article I of this decree:

1. If the distributed land was the property of persons, that land should be returned to the original owner or his legal representative, and, in case of death, to the legal heirs of the dead person.
2. If the distributed land was state property, the person who had previously acquired land is obliged to pay the state the price of the land in five equal yearly installments as its price was at the time it was acquired based on the price of adjoining land or the price of the land of the local people. The person who acquires the land will be considered the owner of the land after the payment of the last installment.

### Article III

The following action should be taken regarding a person whose land had been previously requisitioned as ultra quorum and no action has yet been taken for its distribution:

1. If the land is in its original form, it should be returned to its original owner, his legal representative, or to the legal heir of the dead person.
2. If the state has built agricultural farms or public utility buildings and installations on the land, it is necessary for the state to pay the price of the land in five equal yearly installments to its original owner, his legal representative, or the heir of the dead person as it was at the time of the requisition on the basis of the price of the adjoining land or the price of the land of the people in whose area the land is situated. While the price of the land is being determined, its original form will be taken into account, not the value added to it by farming, buildings, or installations.

3. If land is under an urban master plan, in this respect action will be taken in line with the orders of the related laws.

### Article IV

A person who, under documents enshrined in Article No. I of this decree, has obtained land previously, and has utilized it as property-owner against legal documents enforced at the time—the following actions should be taken:

1. If the property of the person who has previously obtained land, his legal embodiment or his legal heirs have implemented the transfer of property—the legal embodiment who has received the land or the legal heirs of the dead are duty-bound to pay the current price of land at the date of its return to its true owner, his legal embodiment or the legal heirs of the dead.
2. If the utilization of land by persons included in this article's first paragraph has caused the change in form of the landed property and a decrease in value, the delinquent, his legal embodiment or the legal heirs of the dead are duty-bound to return the land to its true owner, his legal embodiment and—in case of death—to the legal heirs of the dead and should compensate for losses incurred.

### Article V

Land included in the landed area under the quorum of a person that has been exchanged with another person's landed quorum—or with surplus land quorum—and has been allocated to the state public utility projects and has been distributed to other people, the following actions will be taken:

1. If the exchanged land is needed by the state, it is necessary that the price of land should be paid to the person whose surplus quorum land has been exchanged and has been utilized, or to his legal embodiment and—in case of death—to the legal heirs of the dead according to the land price at the date of return or in line with the land price of the local people where the land is located.
2. If the exchanged land has been distributed to people and utilization has taken place by one side or both sides at the exchange, the following actions should be observed:

- a. If the exchange has occurred from one side, the right of the person who has suffered a loss is to be compensated from the returned rights of the occupier.
- b. If the exchange has taken place by both sides, the losses suffered by one side could be compensated by the person by whom the occupation of the land has taken place against the law.

### Article VI

The Ministry of Agriculture's department regulating land affairs and ownership, will act as the first budget unit and is duty-bound to prepare the organization and budget in the capital and provinces in accordance with their needs.

### Article VII

1. The Ministry of Agriculture's department of land reform and land affairs management is duty-bound to prepare relevant forms and documents concerning land affairs and ownership and distribute them to relevant departments.



2. If in line with the documents included in paragraph one of this article, a case is not resolved, the relevant commission could take necessary action through utilizing the offices of relevant sources, visiting the area, or taking information from people with joint land borders and the local people where the land is located.

#### Article VIII

The following commissions will be set up to resolve the problems caused by the implementation of the legal documents mentioned in Article I of this decree or by returning land to the original owner, his legal representative, or his heirs.

1. The district's commission on regulating property and land.
2. The province's commission on regulating property and land.

#### Article IX

1. The district commission on property and regulating land affairs is made up of members from a) the head of the district property department as a head; b) the district's promotion department and representatives of the Ministry of Water and Electricity, and the administration's geology and cartography surveying team [as heard].

2. The provincial commission on the settlement of property and regulating land affairs is made of members from a) the head of the provincial department of property and regulating land affairs as a head; b) the provincial promotion department and representatives of the Finance, Water, and Electricity Ministries and the administration's geology and cartography surveying team.

#### Article X

Commissions on property and regulating land affairs have the following duties and authority:

1. To conduct a detailed survey of persons and state property, and to determine the boundary of the land;
2. To implement documents related to land and property in an area;
3. To settle land matters in line with credible documents and the information of relevant sources or in line with utterances of the adjoining landowner or the people located in the area where the land is situated;
4. To determine the price difference of land and to compensate for the losses incurred on the basis of relevant sources' information and the utterance of the owners of adjoining land or the people located in the area where the land is situated;
5. To bring lawsuits related to property and regulating land affairs to the appropriate courts for settlement;
6. To discharge other assigned duties regarding regulations, bylaws, and instructions.

#### Article XI

A person who is recognized as the original landowner whose land cannot be returned to him due to his absence, a representative will be appointed to protect the absent landowner and, in consultation with the property and land affairs regulating administration of the Ministry of Agriculture, the property and interests of the absent landowner.

#### Article XII

In order to restore the rights of those original owners whose ownership has been rescinded or disrupted as a result of the implementation of legal documents that are mentioned in Article I of this decree, the distribution of state land useable for agriculture will be suspended until the law of property and land regulation comes into force.

#### Article XIII

If state's or persons' land has been or is being distributed, against the principle of Islamic law, to persons such as commanders, refugees, or other citizens of the country by orders of state and jihadi organizations sources, the following action will be observed:

1. If land is the property of persons, it will be returned to the original owner, his legal representative, and, in case of death, to his legal heir.
2. If land is part of state property or it is not the property of the original owner or legal heir who is mentioned in paragraph 1 of this article, the land will be registered as state property, and in line with the provisions of Article XII of this decree, can only be utilized by the state.

3. In situations mentioned in paragraph 1 and 2 of this article, a person, who occupies land illegally, is not entitled to any kind of compensation for losses incurred.

#### Article XIV

Administrative institutions, state firms, municipalities, and companies cannot build buildings or installations on agricultural land without the formal agreement of the Ministry of Agriculture's property and land affairs department and the approval of the authorized sources.

#### Article XV

The property and land affairs department of the Ministry of Agriculture is duty-bound to issue regulations, bylaws, and instructions for effective implementation of this decree.

#### Article XVI

This decree comes into force after receiving the president's assent, and will be published in the Official Gazette. With the enforcement of this decree, provisions of the law of regulating land relations dated 15 Dalw 1366 [4 February 1987] and published in issue 658 of the Official Gazette, Decree No. 8 of the then revolutionary council and other legal documents, whose provisions are against the provisions of this decree, are abrogated.

[Signed] Professor Borhanoddin F. bbani, president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan



Frontier Post 1/6

["News Analysis" by Amir Taheri]

[Text] London—Each of the Afghan mujahedin groups is striving to achieve the most regional victories and gains possible, before winter makes fighting difficult. For this reason, these competing groups have entered into the most violent battles the country has known in the 20-month-old civil war.

Each group describes itself as "Islamic," and this is a characteristic which they adopted in the 1980's to distinguish the mujahedin from the Communist regime in Kabul supported by the Soviets. This characteristic had an impact which enabled the mujahedin groups to make religion an opposition ideology in its struggle with the Communist regime of Kabul. It also helped them achieve great support from various Islamic states. In April 1992, after losing Soviet support, the Communist regime fell. The mujahedin groups retained their "Islamic" symbols, but it was quickly evident that the groups were not set up or acting on a religious basis but according to their ethnic backgrounds.

The group led by Borhanoddin Rabbani, the president ad-hoc of the country, calls itself Jam'iat-e Eslami [The Islamic Society], but this group has principally become a political tool to impose Tajik hegemony over Afghanistan. There are, of course, people from other ethnic groups who belong to Rabbani's organization, but the core of the organization remains a group of Tajik Sunni Muslims who speak Persian.

The strong man in this group is Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, the talented military commander who played the decisive role in the fall of the Communist regime headed by Mohammad Najibollah. At that time, hope spread that Mas'ud would use his irrefutable organizational talents and leadership abilities to form a new national alliance and coalition going beyond the ethnic limitations, but nothing of that sort happened.

Rabbani also enjoys the support of Esma'il Khan, the governor of Herat and a former army officer under the Communist regime. Here also, ethnic loyalty, not religious feeling, played the greatest role in determining Esma'il Khan's loyalty to Rabbani and Mas'ud, the two senior Tajik leaders.

It is worth noting that the Tajiks form 30 percent of the population and that they have not been afforded the chance to govern Afghanistan with the exception of six months during which the revolutionary Habibollah Khan, known as "Bacheh-ye Saqa" [son of Saqa], reigned in 1921.

It appears that the Tajiks are now planning to lose no opportunity—as they have vowed historically—afforded them to gain control in the Afghan Government.

The group commanded by "General" 'Abdol Rashid Dos Tam, bears the exalted name of "The Islamic National Party," but it is "Islamic" in name only, because most of its leadership is made up of former Communists who compete in boasting of, spreading, and advertising their heresies. The internal regime and goals of this party are a clear copy of the Communist Party's regime and programs without mentioning the term "Communist."

In the past year, the city of Mazar-i Sharif, the northern city that Dostam has taken for his headquarters, has been an assembly point for former officials, Army officers and cadres of the Communist Party and its regime. However, Dostam's party is also not "national." It is the political organization for those of Uzbek descent, who form 10 percent of Afghanistan's population.

Proof is mounting of the ethnic nature of Dostam's party with the support that has been afforded it by neighboring

Uzbekistan. So the party is more an Uzbek organization than it is an organization of Islamic convictions and feelings.

The third group in the current conflict is the "Hezb-e Afghanistan-e Eslami," [Islamic Party of Afghanistan] led by Golboddin Hekmatyar, who officially presumes to be the prime minister, but who has not taken on this role and has no right to do so. However, Hekmatyar's party is increasingly pressing to be the representative of Pashtun political aspirations. In other words, this party is also no more than an organization established on ethnic grounds.

Like Rabbani's party, Hekmatyar's organization includes elements from other ethnic groups, but the sensitive leadership positions are vested in Pashtuns, who form 90 percent of the members of the party. Hekmatyar's party enjoyed the support of both the United States and Pakistan during the war against Soviet hegemony. The major motive for the Pakistani support is that Pakistan itself includes 15 million Pashtuns.

The fourth group in the conflict is an organization that calls itself by the name "Hezb-e Wahdat-e Eslami" [the Islamic Unity Party], but it also uses the term "Islamic" as no more than an emblem or slogan. The truth is that this party is an organization for Afghan Shi'ism supported by Iran. [Shi'ites] form about 18 percent of the Sunni-majority population. It is not a matter of religious doctrine, since the Shi'ites belong to the Hezarah people, an ethnic group of Mongol origin.

Shi'ites in Afghanistan receive support from Iran not only because they are Twelvers, but also because they speak Persian. There are six other parties which, without exception, use the term "Islamic," but all of them are formed on the basis of the ethnic rivalries and use religion as a mere external cover. The Turkomans, Nuristanis, Isma'ilis, and lesser Pashtun tribes have their political parties and organizations, but a penetrating glance at each of them discloses that they are clan organizations, not political parties, and that they have always existed in Afghanistan.

Has Afghanistan become another Somalia then? This question cannot be ignored. The truth is that the religious, ethnic, and tribal divisions in Afghanistan are deeper than they are in Somalia.

Some commentators and analysts are amazed that Hekmatyar's party, which claims to be "Islamic" and is viewed as "fundamentalist," has allied itself now with the former Communists against Rabbani. This is merely a small sample of the Afghan festival. Rabbani allies himself at times also with the Communists to prevent Hekmatyar from imposing his hegemony over Kabul.

The Afghan conflict is rapidly deteriorating into a clan war of the type the country suffered in the 19th Century. Today, Pakistan, Iran, and Uzbekistan have all deeply intervened in the Afghan conflict, and each of them support this or that group. Russia is not far from this stage of conflict. It is known that Russian forces are deployed primarily along the Tajik-Afghan and Turkoman-Afghan borders. Moscow has disclosed in no uncertain form that it will not accept the idea of the existence of a regime that is hostile to it in Kabul. In spite of the fact that Yeltsin's government pretends that it is anti-Communist, it is working with the new Communist regime in Tashkent and the other in Dushanbe. The main joint goal is the existence of a federal body in Afghanistan enabling all of the ethnic groups to obtain a large measure of independence.

Dostam is promoting the federal formula and is actually practicing it in Mazar-i Sharif, where he is behaving as if

his city were an independent statelet. He is hoping that Hekmatyar and Rabbani will destroy each other, thus leaving the field open for the appearance of an Uzbek-Communist-Isma'ili alliance which would become capable of molding the future of Afghanistan. His calculations, however, met a setback when Rabbani decided to launch attacks on Dostam in his stronghold. Dostam's response was to attack Rabbani's positions in Kabul. The following step, logically, was to make an alliance with Hekmatyar.

Perhaps one of the historical divisions which caused the first battle between Rabbani and Hekmatyar to break out is the fact that the latter wanted to arrest Dostam and put him on trial for treason. Hekmatyar had boycotted the government of Sebghatollah Mojaddedi and then that of 'Abdol Sabur Farid because they refused to issue orders to arrest Dostam.

Hekmatyar and Dostam—who has been characterized as “a Communist mercenary and leader of a gang of thieves”—are now two allies pretending to fight for the exaltation of the cause of Islam.

This alliance will not be the last marvel in Afghanistan. This sad country will witness more wonders and restiveness.

**FBIS-NES-94-009**  
**13 January 1994**

#### **Hezb-e Wahdat Official Views Situation**

*NC1201205694 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 2 Jan 94 p 14*

[Interview with Mohammad Hasan Ja'fari, member of the Central Council of the Hezb-e Wahdat [Islamic Unity Party], of Afghanistan, with unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] [JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] How do you assess Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani's visit to Islamic countries and his recent visit to Tajikistan?

[Ja'fari] These visits, which took place without the coordination of the Jihad Council and the leaders of parties, were made within the context of stating party and group objectives and positions. In addition to these points, Rabbani's visit to Tajikistan also included discussions on the problems along the two countries' borders as well as discussions on the return of thousands of Tajik refugees to their country.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] How do you assess the agreement between Rabbani and Mubarak on arresting and handing over Egyptian combatants who actively participated in the Afghan jihad for many years?

[Ja'fari] This agreement has no legal and official status as far as the jihadi groups are concerned and can be studied only within the framework of a personal view!

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] Do you regard Mr. Rabbani's actions as illegal? Is this really so?

[Ja'fari] The actions by the current Afghan Government are illegal, since Mr. Rabbani has trampled on all former commitments as well as the Jalalabad agreement, which stipulated the mode of participation by all the jihadi parties in managing the country. As far as the jihadi parties are concerned, even the decisions by the current Hall wa 'Aqd Council are unimplementable because of the personal changes that Mr. Rabbani has made in its composition. Moreover, none of the four major parties of Afghanistan are members in this council.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] Some believe that Hezb-e Wahdat appears to be confused in Afghanistan's political scene and in its approach on other groups. Is this assessment correct?

[Ja'fari] The objective of Hezb-e Wahdat is to establish a comprehensive peace throughout Afghanistan and it has exerted all its efforts and forces toward this end. Hezb-e Wahdat represents 25 percent of the Shiite population in Afghanistan and wants the rights of the Shiites to be established and social and political justice to prevail in society. Therefore, we expect other parties to accept and to believe in our logical desires. Within this framework, they sometimes impose wars on us and we have no other alternative but to defend ourselves. But we emphasized that Hezb-e Wahdat has never fomented war.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] How has Hezb-e Wahdat reacted to the resignation by Golboddin Hekmatyar from his post as prime minister?

[Ja'fari] As far as we know, Mr. Hekmatyar has not resigned and this is only a rumor that has been disseminated by the news circles of some of the groups.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] The people of Afghanistan are tired of the war and the recent incidents. The unfavorable impact that they have had on Afghan public opinion has even put in question the beliefs and objectives of the jihadi groups.

[Ja'fari] If Hezb-e Wahdat's plan to end the conflicts and to establish a coalition government had been implemented, we would definitely not have been witnessing the avenging and expansionist acts by some of the parties today.

On the basis of the Hezb-e Wahdat's plan which was also agreed on, Afghanistan's major parties comprising the Hezb-e Wahdat, the Jami'at-e Islami [Islamic Society], the Hezb-e Islami [Islamic Party of Afghanistan], and the National-Islamic Movement of Northern Afghanistan would form a provisional council and run the country's affairs until elections were held. Also, the other parties too would be in close cooperation with the council. However, the explicit opposition by Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, leader of the Supervisory Council of the Jami'at-e Islami defeated this plan and this ultimately led to the spread of the war.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] What is the outcome of the many months of efforts by the Elections Committee?

[Ja'fari] Practically nothing.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] What objectives are there behind the formation of the Constitutional Committee by Borhanoddin Rabbani?

[Ja'fari] The formation of this committee does not fall within the authorities of Mr. Rabbani because on the basis of the Jalalabad agreement, the representatives of all of Afghanistan's ethnic groups and tribes should actively participate in the formation of such an extensive organization.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] What does Hezb-e Wahdat want from the future constitution of Afghanistan?

[Ja'fari] The recognition of the Ja'fari sect, the election of Shiites to form one-fourth of the future government, and the participation of the various ethnic groups on the basis of a population count in the management of the country's affairs.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] How are relations between Hezb-e Wahdat and the other parties in Afghanistan?

[Ja'fari] Hezb-e Wahdat has good relations with all the groups and is ready to extend a hand of friendship and peace toward Sayyaf's Ettihad e-Islami [Islamic Unity Party] if it reviews and corrects its past positions.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] What is your opinion on the social and security situation in the various parts of Afghanistan?

[Ja'fari] Unfortunately, the security situation in most of the country's areas is unfavorable and disorder prevails. In other words, in each one of the country's provinces a local government has been formed and there are no contacts between these local governments and the central government. Of course there are some areas in northern Afghanistan that enjoy relative security and among these provinces we can name Jowzjan, Mazar-e Sharif, Sarpol, and Baghlan as well as cities in central Afghanistan, namely Bamian, Meydan, Gharbi, and Oruzgan. But as far as the social situation is concerned, the repercussions of the war have rendered the people helpless. The oppressed people of Afghanistan and the entire land of Afghanistan are suffering from poverty. The situation of the people is extremely painful.

The people of Afghanistan and especially the residents in western Kabul are living under conditions that are very difficult to describe. The residents in the Shiite areas in west Kabul that are governed by the central government are suffering from the central government's disfavor and bias in addition to having to suffer the impact of the war and they are deprived even of the most essential living essentials such as water and electricity.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] International organizations claim that they are placing great assistance in the form of food and medicine at the disposal of the Afghan Government and some of the jihadi groups every day. What do you have to say about this?

[Ja'fari] Until now, some consignments of international relief organizations were sent to Afghanistan. But I can say now that no assistance from abroad is reaching the people of Afghanistan at the present time.

[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI] Under the current situation, what message do you have for the leaders of Afghanistan's jihad parties?

[Ja'fari] The people of Afghanistan are sick and tired of the war and it is not important to them which group is confronting whom. The people of Afghanistan seek tranquility, security, and peace. The jihadi leaders of Afghanistan are well aware that conflicts and clashes cannot and will not yield any victor but that there is a balance of power in the country. Therefore, the only alternative is to tolerate and to accept one another and work to lay the foundation for a general understanding on the basis of the interests of all the people of Afghanistan.

The News  
Pakistan  
1/7

## Afghan crisis: a vital move by Pakistan

OPENJON

Pakistan has taken another significant initiative for stopping the fighting in Kabul and facilitating a political settlement of the factional conflict so as to ensure a lasting peace in Afghanistan. Foreign Minister Sardar Asaf Ahmad Ali met Afghan Prime Minister Gulbadin Hekmatyar in Jalalabad and the two agreed to make concerted efforts to restore normalcy and harmony in Afghanistan and enable the country to march on the road to reconstruction and progress. Sardar Asaf Ahmad Ali is soon visiting Kabul to talk to President Rabbani in an attempt to hammer out a peace accord between the Afghan president and Prime Minister. The Pakistan Foreign Minister has described his parleys with Engineer Hekmatyar as "fruitful and brotherly" and said that Pakistan wished to supply food and medicines to Kabul where the population is confronted with the threat of famine due to the fighting. The Afghan Premier has accepted the offer and agreed to the despatch of supplies to Kabul through Jalalabad.

It is, indeed, very tragic that peace and normalcy has not returned to Afghanistan even after the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces. Factional fighting has constantly erupted in Kabul and elsewhere in the war-ravaged country. This is mainly attributable to the blind ambition for power among the leaders of various Mujahideen groups and their tendency to settle their differences through brute force. Extremely painful as it is, the recurring internecine warfare has taken a heavy toll of life. In the current battle for the control of Kabul, as many as 1000 persons have been killed and over a million rendered homeless. And now over 800,000 citizens of Kabul are gripped by the fear of an impending disaster — famine. The hostilities have created an acute shortage of food and unless the situation is redressed expeditiously, many innocent lives will be lost. Pakistan would do well to send food and other relief goods at the earliest. Given the close cultural and historical links with Afghanistan, Pakistan cannot be unmindful of the misery and suffering of the Afghan people. While remaining committed to a policy of neutrality, it rightly feels its moral duty to initiate diplomatic endeavours for a lasting settlement of the Afghan imbroglio. The immediate need is to bring an end to the hostilities in Kabul so as to pave the way for a dialogue among the warring groups for an enduring political settlement. This will not be possible unless the Afghan leaders shed their personal lust for power and factional animosity and exercise tolerance and accommodation. They must spare their country any further bloodshed and destruction and let the all-important task of reconstruction and rehabilitation start at the earliest. PT Editorial 2/20



Q. Those who are in opposition with you are calling for your resignation as a first step for laying down their arms. What is your opinion and reaction towards this call?

A. As we know, these elements, in order to make the ground favorable for the implementation of their treacherous objectives, they would like to create a state of chaos in the country and dismantle law and order. It is impossible for us to place the destiny of our country and our nation in the hands of those terrorists, who, in the last two years have refrained from contributing towards solving the problems which Afghanistan has inherited. They are rather killing innocent people, destroying their homes and looting their properties and belongings. They are deliberately engaging themselves in these activities, thus creating a political, administrative and military vacuum through which they intend to reach their designs and heinous objectives.

They obviously do not see hope for attaining their goals in the existence of a military and administrative law and order. We once again would like to make them understand that these outrageous designs will not materialize.

Q. You declared Jihad against Dostum and Hekmatyar. Why is Hekmatyar's position as Prime Minister still a matter of debate?

A. Our Jihad is against the betrayals to our national interest, against terrorist activities, against terror and disposition. We would like to put an end to all these ugly phenomena. As far as a change in the government, we will decide as soon as the preliminary and required steps are taken towards improving the prevailing situation. Hekmatyar, however, as the Head of the coup d'Etat and a war monger group should have no role in the administration and State affairs.

Q. Shall Hekmatyar have a role in the future government?

A. Our interlocutor is the Hezb-i-Islami. We want to come to an understanding with the Hezb-i-Islami. About the future, let me say that we are sure the people of Afghanistan will not allow these murderous and criminal elements to have any role on deciding their destiny. destiny.

Q. What are your views as far as the role of the United Nations is concerned?

A. We think that the United Nations must have a role in this respect. I wonder what is the reason that the United Nations has not yet been active in the field of human services. In the past, we have asked the U.N. to provide political assistance to Afghanistan, in addition, assistance in humanitarian fields. We hope that the U.N. could be able, as a first step, to start its assistance in the humanitarian field and in later stages, provide us with the assistance we need.

Q. Will you negotiate with Dostum?

A. For the time being, Dostum's case is not a subject to be discussed. We believe that Dostum is a murderous element and a perpetrator of the coup d'Etat. In the first step, arms should be collected and stability be secured. Afterwards, the people will decide what to do about Dostum and others of his kind.

Q. Do you consider the present conflict in Afghanistan as a product of internal situation or of outside interferences?

A. We believe that the present conflict is not a domestic one. In all these military confrontations, foreign countries or elements have been involved in one way or in another. At one instance, we found Uzbekistan participating in the confrontations. There are others as well. We believe that if the Afghans were left alone, these military confrontations and clashes would have not happened.



Q. You still mention elections. I think the prevailing conditions would not allow for elections to take place. What are your views?

A. There are many electoral systems and one can be used in Afghanistan. In the past, many practices were worked out. Ballot boxes were used. Jirgas, Loya Jirgas and a Shura of Hal-u-aqd were convened in different times. There is no problem there. In all provinces and administrative units, representative persons can be chosen.

Q. This may prove to be impossible because the Heads of the parties (tanzim) do not agree with each other.

A. I think an agreement between the Heads of the parties is not called for or even necessary. All over Afghanistan, administrative units do exist. They can manage to hold the election of representatives. People will decide the cases of power struggle. They can elect a number of them or elect other persons.

Q. People are tired of the fighting and are not satisfied with the leaders. What are your views?

A. Surely, the condition of the fighting is tiresome to everybody. However, we are sure that if the State were not to prevent the murderers and the terrorists from prevailing, surely more weariness and tragedy would occur to the people.

Q. We observe that, everyday, military groups enter in Kabul in support of the State. Military people think that there is more fighting ahead. What are your views?

A. Entering of the groups does not mean that long fighting is expected. However, there are difficulties which do not allow the rapid cessation of the fighting. Nevertheless, we have good hope that the battles do not last any longer.



THE NEW YORK TIMES  
FEBRUARY 27

**A Part of History, Too, Is Lost in Battle for Kabul**

Dozens of historic buildings have been destroyed by factional fighting in the Afghan capital, including the Blue Mosque in central Kabul,

where Government soldiers passed by last week. Hospital officials estimate that the fighting has killed 900 people in the last 45 days.

Associated P

# Blunders Alleged In Plan to Buy Back Afghan Stingers

By Molly Moore  
Washington Post Foreign Service

PESHAWAR, Pakistan—A covert CIA program to buy back U.S. Stinger missiles distributed to Afghan rebel forces during the 1980s has been plagued by failures, miscalculations and wasted money, according to Pakistani and U.S. intelligence sources monitoring the enterprise.

Congress reportedly has authorized more than \$65 million in secret funds for the operation over the last three years. That is about twice as much as the United States originally paid for the estimated 1,000 Stingers it provided to the *mujaheddin* rebel forces in the final years of the war against the Soviet-backed government in Kabul.

But despite the millions, the CIA has recovered only a fraction of the missiles, and it does not know who controls most of the remaining unused weapons, U.S. and Pakistan officials said.

There have been no reports of Stinger missiles being used in Afghanistan since the end of the war with Soviet forces in 1989, and the CIA has been eager to find and reclaim as many as possible that remain because of international fears that the shoulder-fired missiles could fall into the hands of terrorists who would use them against civilian or military aircraft.

Already, missiles supplied to the *mujaheddin* by the CIA have turned up in Iran, Qatar and North Korea. Military leaders involved in Tajikistan's civil war claim to have purchased Stingers recently from contacts in neighboring Afghanistan.

But U.S. and Pakistani officials familiar with the CIA's secret buy-back program say the agency's lack of accurate information on the remaining Stingers and what they call its haphazard efforts to purchase them have done little more than quadruple the black-market price of the Stingers and create a cutthroat business of middlemen seeking to extort high commissions for brokering deals between the CIA and Afghan tribal leaders.

"They turned it into a fish market with everyone running around trying to get hold of Stingers because everybody in between had a stake,"

said a recently retired officer of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency who was involved in distribution of the Stingers. The CIA has "wasted a lot of money and has not been able to recover most of the Stingers."

A CIA spokesman said the agency would not comment on the program.

The miscalculation and blunder involved with the program was evidenced by an episode in which CIA operatives and one of Afghanistan's wildest tribal chiefs spent weeks in intensive negotiating and finally struck a deal: The chief would hand over at least two U.S.-supplied Stinger antiaircraft missiles in return for an estimated \$200,000 from the CIA.

But in the final hours, the carefully orchestrated plan went awry. Pakistani paramilitary forces, tipped off to the deal, stormed into Afghanistan and seized the missiles just before the handoff to the CIA go-between, according to Pakistani intelligence sources and others familiar with the incident.

The Afghan tribal chief was so furious at losing both his weapons and his payoff that he ordered his men to kidnap two engineers working with the Pakistani government on a border water project. He has held them captive since last July, demanding his Stingers and \$200,000 from Pakistan as ransom.

The 35-pound Stinger missile, considered the world's most advanced portable missile, is designed to hit low-flying aircraft at a distance of about three miles. It has an infrared guidance system that homes in on heat emitted from the aircraft engine or exhaust. Although it has a system that identifies aircraft as friend or foe, Afghan rebels reportedly scored a higher rate of hits on the battlefield than American troops did in practice because the guerrillas did not have to pause to identify their targets, since any aircraft in the sky was considered their enemy.

The Stinger has become extraordinarily valuable to guerrillas fighting insurgencies, to terrorists and to Third World militaries because it is small enough to be easily hidden and transported and, used properly, is extremely accurate.

The problems now faced by the CIA were debated within the agency, in the Pentagon and in Congress in 1986 when President Ronald Reagan authorized the CIA to provide the sophisticated Stinger missiles to the *mujaheddin*.

In the early days of the giveaway program, the CIA—which funneled the missiles and other weaponry through Pakistan's Inter-Services

Intelligence—kept detailed and accurate records on the serial numbers and distribution of the Stingers.

But when the introduction of the Stinger missiles began to turn the tide of the war in favor of the *mujaheddin* and the United States increased the number of missiles it provided, the accounting system broke down, according to officials involved in distributing the weapons in Pakistan and monitoring the program in Washington. At one point, the CIA was providing Stingers to seven different *mujaheddin* groups, which then distributed them among their own subcommanders.

"We were handing them out like lollipops," a U.S. intelligence official in Washington said.

U.S. officials now say they believe that the Pakistani intelligence service kept some of the Stingers rather than passing them on to the Afghan *mujaheddin*, a charge Pakistani officials have denied.

Although the CIA and the various factions of the present Afghan government say they do not know how many usable missiles remain in Afghanistan, the Pakistani intelligence official who was responsible for distributing several hundred of the missiles in the late 1980s said as many as 400 unfired missiles may now be under the control of various Afghan commanders. U.S. analysts calculated that the Afghan *mujaheddin* fired about 350 of the missiles during the war.

Officials said the CIA's buy-back program has failed largely because the agency has lost track of the missiles and made little effort to determine which *mujaheddin* factions controlled the unused ones before it spread the word in Afghanistan in 1990 that it would pay hefty prices for any that were returned.

Stingers that cost the U.S. Army about \$35,000 each in the mid-1980s when they were purchased from General Dynamics immediately escalated in value. In 1990, the CIA reportedly offered \$50,000 per missile. Now it is willing to pay up to \$100,000, according to Pakistani and U.S. officials.

"You are on your own to strike a good bargain," said the former Pakistani intelligence agent who has met with several of the CIA's middlemen in the bargaining. The price of the missiles is inflated even higher by commissions demanded by middlemen, officials said.

But most Afghan commanders—who are now involved in inter-tribal warfare in Afghanistan—do not want to surrender the weapons at

any cost. In a nation at war with itself, the quantity and quality of a leader's weapons are a critical measure of his power, according to Afghan and Pakistani authorities.

"The Afghan government does not intend to allow even a round of ammunition to be taken out of Afghanistan," Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar said on a visit to Tehran last fall, according to the Islamic Republic News Agency.

Hekmatyar, who received more U.S.-financed weaponry than any other mujaheddin commander during the war against the Soviets, has been engaged in brutal civil war in Kabul, Afghanistan's capital, for two years in an attempt to overthrow President Burhanuddin Rabbani. In the fiercest fighting of Hekmatyar's campaign, more than 1,000 people have been killed in Kabul in the last two months.

The foul-ups in the CIA buy-back campaign have become legendary in intelligence circles in Pakistan and among tribal leaders in Afghanistan. The CIA is using Pakistani and Afghan contacts to broker agreements with Afghan commanders who they believe may possess unused Stingers.

The incident in the Afghanistan border district of Zabul last summer that led the Afghan tribal chief to kidnap the two engineers has been one of the most celebrated blunders, in part because of the players involved in the bargaining.

The tribal leader who was selling the Stingers, Abdul Salam, is widely known in Urdu as "Rocketi" because of the vast arsenal of surface-to-air missiles and rocketry he accumulated from foreign sources during the Soviet-Afghan war.

Pakistani officials have refused to comment publicly on the incident, but say on background that the kidnapping has caused serious political problems. The two engineers, still being held for ransom, are Chinese experts who were assigned to help Pakistan on a dam project. It is unclear what the Pakistani Frontier Corps did with the Stingers it retrieved.

In an effort to avoid the problem of transporting the Stingers, the CIA experimented with a plan that allowed the middlemen to obtain the Stinger, cut it into unusable pieces and bring back a photograph of the destroyed weapon as evidence. That plan was short-lived. CIA officials became suspicious that the same mutilated Stingers might be appearing in repeated photographs, according to a Pakistani intelligence official.

Pakistani intelligence officials said they believe most Afghan commanders are hoarding the usable Stinger missiles, but reports are increasing of missiles being sold in the black market arms bazaars of Pakistan.

Last fall a Stinger sale ended in a public fight between a Pakistani tribesman trying to negotiate a deal with an Afghan seller in Pakistan's notorious Darra gun bazaar near the Khyber Pass. The buyer, after paying for the missile, alleged that it was unusable and demanded his money back, according to an account in the Pakistan daily News and Pakistani officials.

The Afghan trader offered to test-fire the missile to prove that it worked, an untenable proposition as the Stinger missile is unusable once it is fired. The argument was settled in a public tribal court, in which the Afghan trader offered to provide the Pakistani buyer another missile at a reduced price, officials said.

Military experts say they are uncertain as to the shelf life of the battery packs that are critical to firing the missile, but believe most of the unused missiles could be operative for several years if they have been maintained well.

While many U.S. lawmakers have been skeptical of the buy-back program and its high costs, they have continued to fund it in an effort to reduce the number of potential sales to terrorists and arms dealers from other regions, according to congressional officials.



George Bennett/Simon & Schuster

## Live From the Battlefield

From Vietnam to Baghdad: 35 Years in the World's War Zones.

By Peter Arnett

Illustrated. 463 pages. Simon & Schuster. \$23.

Mr. Arnett doesn't consider himself a war lover. Here's how he explains himself in the first sentence of his book: "I have a rule never to do anything dangerous for fun." The next thing we know (it's now 1993, after he has finished writing this book) is that he's off and running in Afghanistan, testing his luck again by going through checkpoints manned by trigger-happy rebels. He writes: "I remembered a local official telling me, 'Don't ever go out at night. After dark, everyone in Afghanistan is a bandit.'"

Mr. Arnett was featured in a CNN TV program on Afghanistan's role in training Islamic terrorists on 1/16. We'll have excerpts from the transcript & an Afghan response in the next issue.



In 1987 photo, a soldier of the Soviet-backed Afghan army shows what Tass news agency said was a U.S.-supplied Stinger captured from Afghan rebels.

NYT 1/13

Washington Post special correspondent Kamran Khan contributed to this article.

THE WASHINGTON POST MARCH 7, 1994

TASS VIA REUTERS

# Afghanistan — a case of foreign policy failure?

## A PERSONAL VIEW

### Inayatullah

**A** bloody civil war is raging in Afghanistan. More people have been killed and wounded in Kabul during the last 4 weeks than in 10 years of the hot-war between the Soviet army and the people of Afghanistan. The Capital has been reduced to rubble. And the conflagration is spreading to other parts of the country.

Little of any significance has been done by Pakistan to stop the bloodshed and the escalating fight between the warring factions. This unfortunate concern suggests that the present government does not consider the happenings in Afghanistan important enough to bestir itself to attempt to defuse the situation across the border. It perhaps subscribes to a school of thought that Pakistan should have nothing to do with what goes on inside Afghanistan and it is better to pursue a "hands off" approach. This explains the perfunctory statements on the part of the government advising Afghan leaders to stop fighting and resolve their differences as also the low level foreign office contact with certain Afghan parties. This erroneous policy of the present government with regard to Afghanistan needs to be reviewed in the context of the Soviet invasion of our Western neighbour and Pakistan's role in the Afghan resistance.

It has to be realised that Pakistan was fighting for its own survival when it firmly backed the Mujahideen's struggle against Soviet aggression and openly helped them morally, diplomatically and materially. It needs to be remembered that Pakistan came out with its support before the Americans decided to provide funds and arms to the Afghan leaders. Credit goes to the then government for expeditiously mobilising the OIC and the United Nations to condemn the Soviet aggression and provide humanitarian and other assistance to the valiant freedom-fighters. If Pakistan had not stood by the Afghan people and provided wholehearted support to them and mustered international backing and if the Soviets had succeeded in establishing their hold in Afghanistan, Pakistan's own integrity and future would have been jeopardised. Having entrenched themselves in Kabul the next Soviet step would have been to extend their sway to Peshawar and beyond. The USA no doubt played a major role in the Soviet ouster from Afghanistan as its interests converged with those of Pakistan and the aggrieved state. The American contribution, however, could not have been successful without Paki-

stan's effective cooperation and the enormously courageous resistance put up by the brave Mujahideen. Pakistan's unhesitating and generous acceptance of millions of refugees and providing food and shelter to them (with international assistance) was a remarkable demonstration of Islamic brotherhood.

Of course Pakistan's deep involvement in the Afghan war of independence and its acting as a conduit for arms supplied by USA and others, took a heavy toll in terms of smuggling, misappropriations and the spread of drug-and-Kalashnikov culture. A wiser Administration could perhaps have better managed these distortions and perversions. All this, however, has to be counted as a part of the price Pakistan had

to pay to take a resolute stand against the onrushing Soviet juggernaut. Pakistan thus helped save Afghanistan and itself and its policy and historic role were fully vindicated when the Soviets finally decided to call it a day and quit. Some political analysts attribute the beginning of the Soviet collapse and disintegration to its failure in Afghanistan.

By readily coming to the rescue and help of Afghanistan in its hour of dire need Pakistan had not only warded off the Soviet danger but also won the hearts of the Afghan people. Their leaders were all

praise for the Pakistani support and considered us as their sincere friends and benefactors. And they were all too willing to listen to Pakistan. It was only to be expected that a friendly government would be established across our western border and Pakistan's western flanks would henceforth be safe and secure.

After the resignation of Dr Najibullah because of known differences amongst the Mujahideen leaders, the then Pakistan government took the timely initiative on 1992 of assembling these leaders in Peshawar and orchestrating an Agreement for the installation of an interim government in Kabul. Later when this agreement failed to work, Nawaz Sharif in a marathon meeting in Islamabad negotiated another Accord in 1993 with all the parties agreeing to work out the new settlement. Unfortunately when this arrangement too began to crack Pakistan itself fell a victim to intrigue and destabilisation with the result that the follow-up process of providing timely advice and guidance to overcome the growing differences between

Hikmatyar and Rabbani came to a sputtering halt. Neither the caretakers nor the present government has been able to pick up the threads of the earlier initiatives. No

wonder the situation in Afghanistan has worsened to a point that even Pakistan is no longer viewed by some of the groups as a welcome friend to bring about a reconciliation amongst the various factions.

Could it be imagined even a few months ago that Pakistani Foreign Minister would find it difficult even to visit Afghanistan and that Afghan refugees would be denied access? Unfortunately by sheer indifference and inaction the present government has lost the respect and affection which Pakistan had rightfully earned and enjoyed in Afghanistan. We indeed have been found wanting when the time came for reaping the harvest and win dividends for all the risks we had exposed ourselves to earlier and all the sacrifices we had made to support the Afghan *jehad*. Not only have we thus suffered heavily in failing to have a stable government in Kabul, we seem to be beginning to lose even the goodwill that we so assiduously created and cultivated over the past many years by making a common cause with Afghanistan, in their hour of peril. Couldn't we foresee the horrid consequences of an unstable (and possibly a no longer friendly) western neighbour with all the adverse and damaging implications and consequences that it entails?

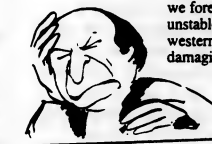
The loss is all the greater because of the grave difficulties Pakistan is experiencing in implementing the projects it has been endeavouring to develop in and with some of the newly independent Central Asian States. If for no other reason it was absolutely essential for us to do everything possible to have a workable government set up in Kabul so that we could avail of the valuable opportunities in these new states. A basic prerequisite for this was a peaceful Afghanistan so that the channels of communication and transport between Pakistan and Central Asia were

speedily developed and made operational.

With the spiralling conflict in Afghanistan not only have we banded our border shut to the hapless fleeing refugees thereby creating ill-will, we also have driven back the prospects of hundreds of thousands of Afghans in Pakistan returning to their homeland, thus extending the burden of looking after them for a long time to come.

The Nation  
Pakistan

1/31



## OPINION

## A tank, a tank, my kingdom for a tank

ANYONE trying to understand what is happening in Afghanistan could do worse than to read an account of the battle of Bosworth Field in England in 1485. As Afghanistan now, England was in a state of civil war. The faction of the king, Richard III, was being challenged by the faction of his rival, Henry Tudor. Richard foolishly relied on the loyalty of the Earl of Northumberland, and hoped that two local warlords, the Stanleys, would stay neutral. When battle was joined, Northumberland failed to support Richard and the Stanleys joined Henry. Richard was abandoned on the battlefield, giving Shakespeare one of his best-known lines, "A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse", and Henry became king.

In the present battle for Kabul, the Afghan capital, the opportunist warlord who has changed sides is Abdul Rashid Dostam. He has stopped supporting the president, Burhanuddin Rabbani, and has moved his forces to help the president's bitterest opponent, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. It sounds outrageous, the president is pained, but no one is very surprised. Self-interest is an acceptable morality, as it was in medieval England, even though tanks and aircraft have replaced horses as instruments of warfare. Mr Dostam has changed sides before, ratted on, and bringing down, his former master, the communist president, Najibullah (now in hiding in Kabul).

All this, it may be argued, is sad for the Afghans, but does it matter to the rest of the world? Afghanistan could be deemed to have had its share of attention. For nine years, while the Soviet army was in occupation, it had the status of an international problem. In newspapers and on television David-and-Goliath stories were told of battles between the invaders and the holy warriors known as mujahideen. The previously obscure towns of Kabul, Herat and Jalalabad fell easily from the lips of instant experts. Then, suddenly, the invaders were gone: driven out by the mujahideen, some said; or brought home because the Soviet centre was cracking, said the historically minded, just as Rome's legions abandoned the outposts of empire when Rome itself was in trouble. Anyway, problem over.

If only it were. Kabul, which thrived even during the years of Soviet occupation, is now in ruins. More than 10,000 people have been killed since the Islamic factions, divided by religious and ethnic differences, started fighting among themselves two years ago. This week, the eighth in the latest round of fighting, the commanders were digging trenches in preparation for a long struggle of attrition. Mr

Hikmatyar's men were trying to stop food entering the city so that Mr Rabbani's men would be starved into surrender.

That is the human problem. The global problem is that Afghanistan is a state no longer exists. It is a great hole in the centre of Asia, watched over by outsiders wondering if they might gain some advantage from the conflict within.

Iran and Pakistan ostensibly both want peace, to rid themselves of the many thousands of Afghan refugees who have taken shelter in their countries. But while both countries support the idea of a united Islamic government in Afghanistan, fundamentalist Iran wants ascendancy for the Shia factions (representing about 12% of the population), while Pakistan favours the Sunnis (about 87%). China also formally supports peace but is worried that any strong Islamic government would give support to restless Chinese Muslims. Even in the West, which armed the mujahideen in its fight against the Soviet army, there are fears that a stable Afghanistan would release thousands of guerrillas to make trouble elsewhere, possibly in Bosnia if that conflict continues.

India believes that guerrillas fighting its security forces in Kashmir have been trained in Afghanistan. Russia is worried that the mujahideen might reinforce Muslim dissidents in former Soviet states of Central Asia. One of these states, Tajikistan, which has a civil conflict of its own, gave warning on February 21st that it would attack Afghan bases that were supporting Tajik rebels. On the pretence of "restoring order" in Afghanistan, it is possible that some future Russian leader, some Zhirinovskiy, will revive his country's dream of Afghanistan as a route to the warm waters of the Indian Ocean, and Moscow's soldiers will again cross the Oxus river.

Both Mr Rabbani and Mr Hikmatyar have called for the United Nations to sort things out, each presumably hoping for a settlement to his own advantage. But this is a conflict where the UN cavalry are not about to ride to the rescue. Richard III's death on the battlefield ended the Wars of the Roses and was the start of modern England. Afghanistan seems not yet ready for a clean break with its warring past.

THE ECONOMIST FEBRUARY 26TH 1994



NAT'L  
ISLAMIC  
FRONT  
CALLS  
FOR  
JIRGA

Dawn  
3/1

PESHAWAR, March 1: The United National Islamic Front of Afghanistan has asked for early settlement to long awaiting Afghan conflict through traditional Loya Jirga to be represented by Afghans from every sphere of life, irrespective of their political ideologies.

"The proposed Jirga should be formulated under the supervision of the United Nations and Organisation of Islamic Countries and its decisions should be acceptable to every Afghan. The demand was raised through a resolution, passed in a meeting of the Front held in Afghan refugees camp at South Waziristan Agency, says a Press release on Monday. • • •

ASHARQ AL-AWSAT 1/11





It may not be an exaggeration to say that the West is not too unhappy with the so-called "fundamentalists" in Afghanistan frittering away their resources and energies in protracted internecine warfare. India which has managed to gain access to the Republics in Central Asia through Iran too must be relishing the failure of Pakistan to secure a friendly and peaceful western neighbour. The renewed and somewhat reluctant interest of the United Nations - the appeal to stop fighting and for a Secretary-General's representative to contact the feuding parties, may not yield any positive or favourable results for Pakistan. However attractive the possibility of the UN involving itself in Afghanistan may appear, considering who controls the Security Council and what their interests are there is little of satisfaction for Pakistan in the dispensation which may, if at all it does - arise from such endeavours.

There is perhaps still a little time left for Pakistan to realise its responsibility to retrieve some sort of an understanding with the Afghan leaders. This is a task which just cannot be taken lightly and must be attended to with utmost speed and imagination. The goodwill for Pakistan has not yet completely evaporated. In this vital venture, Benazir should unhesitatingly seek the cooperation and support of all the elements which together can help persuade Rabbani, Masood Hikmatyar, Dostum and others to sit round a table and hammer out a viable agreement. These elements include the Leader of the Opposition, the Jama'at-i-Islami, General (Retd) Hamid Gul and others who have influence with Afghan leaders. The matter is much too important for the future of Pakistan to be either delayed or tinkered with. It would also be desirable to call an emergency meeting of the OIC Foreign Ministers to deal with the issue. Better the OIC intervention than vagaries of the unpredictable UN Secretary-General for a settlement in Afghanistan. If the government remains complacent and fails to act, the Opposition

must vigorously raise the issue at all levels, inside the Parliament and outside. All the sacrifices made by Pakistan for Afghanistan's freedom just might not go waste.

Nation 1/31

Afghanistan TV is the brainchild of Sajia Kamrany, a housewife Afghani born resident of Los Angeles who migrated from Kabul, Afghanistan to Los Angeles in December of 1977.

Sajia was highly impressed by the development of TV technology whereby an individual could have access to a cable TV and launch an independent program of her own. She was more impressed by the fact that a woman would have an equal opportunity as long as the quality of the program conformed to the network standards. In the meantime from 1977 - 1993, the population of Afghans residing in Los Angeles increased by manifolds due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the attendant influx of Afghan refugees in Los Angeles.

However, the Afghan refugees in southern California were relatively isolated due to problems of language, economic standing, and cultural gap. Sajia taught that a TV program in Afghani could play the role of a catalyst to ward off isolationism by the Afghan community and create opportunity for them to preserve their culture, express their feelings, and have access to such a modern vehicle as a TV program.

Sajia's specific motive was to encourage Afghan artists keep their culture alive by having a vehicle to express and share preserve and develop the heritage. This motive gave birth to Afghanistan TV which began airing in October of 1993 on Channel 10 which covered parts of Los Angeles and San Fernando Valley. However, shortly after the program was aired, the demand by Afghans residing outside of the cover area such as Orange County, San Diego, and San Bernardino was so strong that it compelled Afghanistan TV to shift from Channel 10 to Channel 18, broaden its coverage and reach larger audience.

In addition to the cultural contents of the program, political developments in Afghanistan created a strong political component as the civil war in Afghanistan, while largely ignored by the media, became of great concern to the Afghan community. News coverage of events in Afghanistan and political commentary on the issues and trends in Kabul drew strong attention. While the Islamic government and contending groups in Kabul took a dim view of Women's right, Sajia convened a panel discussion of Women's rights in Afghanistan and for the first time had Afghan women articulate and demand their equal rights on TV. Afghans began to take organized actions concerning events in Afghanistan. One group was able to collect \$21,000 for supporting orphans in Afghanistan. Other organized groups have been formed calling upon the United Nations to disarm the war lords in Afghanistan and push for democracy, human rights and a progressive Afghanistan. Articulation of these views on Afghanistan TV hopefully will penetrate the Afghan polity in Afghanistan and encourage them towards democracy.

Sajia has been pleasantly surprised that her audience include residents of Iran, Pakistan, India, Tajikistan, and even Armenian ethnic groups. Audience responses through telephones and letters have been encouraging, supportive, and gratifying.

Although Sajia started the program by herself and supported by her husband, a USC professor, but the solo operation now enjoys some ten volunteers who are contributing numerous hours to help the program. One of the most seasoned and noted member of the Afghanistan press, Mr. Sakhi Ferhad, is preparing the weekly news report. Afghans send materials from all over the United States and Europe, Heyward Studio which was created by three young Afghans provide production and editing. And finally two ladies have assumed the task of rendering marketing services. So far, all of the costs are out of pocket, but there are signs that the program is attracting ads and hopefully it will become self-supporting and double its air time in the near future.

Sajia has found the experience unbelievable - she is dubbed as the Cati Chung and Barbara Walter of the Afghan TV. And many Afghans who have participated in the program share the excitement as do the audience who wait each week and stay up late to view the program.



Director / Producer: Sajia Kamrany

# Feast for Disney, Famine for Deli

**B**eing fascinated by the Walt Disney Co. and economic development in the Old Dominion—my life, as we've discussed, lacks meaningful diversion—I crossed the river on Friday to learn how Virginia had wooed Khadija Noorani.

Two years ago, Khadija opened the American Deli. It's buried in a Manassas Park industrial swamp, but the deli is sunny and airy and comes with a fine menu and the sweet disposition of its owner, a small woman of dark eyes and hair who fled Afghanistan's war a decade ago and worked her way through the Washington Business School in Tysons Corner.

Khadija, 33, had never had a business before, and she needed a hand getting underway. She borrowed \$30,000 from friends and family, which wasn't enough. "Then I'm borrowing and borrowing, and I've borrowed a lot of money since then," she said by phone before I got there, but even that debt hasn't been enough to spawn success yet. Giving birth to a business, she said, is "really hard."

I'm sure. What money did you get from the state and Prince William County?

Not a penny.

Whoa. You didn't ask the commonwealth to construct an interchange on Interstate 66 so customers could reach you more easily?

No.

You didn't ask it to put up signs on the interstates and take out ads to promote you? I mean, you're kinda lost in this industrial park; you could use something on I-66 like: "Prince William Welcomes You. Ten Miles to Khadija Noorani's American Deli."

No, she said, no road signs or state promotions.

You didn't ask the state to help ship some of the equipment you needed, like that fax machine you bought?

No.

Apparently, Khadija was under the impression that government help is tough to get—you know, as if our economic system in the United States is capitalism, where businesses rise or fall on their own. In reality, the state of Virginia is willing to play a *huge* role in propping up companies, just as governments did in the late Eastern bloc, may it rest in peace.

Take a look at Disney.

It wants to open a new business, a theme park to be called Disney's America that won't

be too far from the American Deli in Prince William County. But it thought to ask the state to build an interchange on I-66 so people could get there—and Gov. George Allen said, Sure, baby, your place or mine? It asked the state to spend millions to promote the park—and Allen poured drinks and slipped into something more comfortable. It asked the state to pay the cost of moving some equipment from out of state—and Allen put satin sheets on the bed.

To sum up Allen's pledges:

Disney: \$163.2 million in public money.

American Deli: Ha.

Now, this difference in gubernatorial interest could stem from the view that the deli isn't too important. It has created 2½ jobs: a full-time, a part-time and Khadija's. ("I'm here more than full time," she said. "I'm here, like, 12 hours a day.") Disney is promising to create thousands of jobs, which means it will have a much bigger impact on the state economy.

But if Virginia's going to do handouts, I was wondering who really needs one more. Ask Khadija Noorani if she's earned a profit yet.

"Uh, no," she said. "Not making money."

She's very worried she won't survive. Many of her customers come from the auto-body shops and other outlets in the industrial park, but many of those businesses have closed. "I'm afraid that will happen to me one day," she said. It's doubtful the arrival of Disney's America would save her, because she's a ways away from the site, but maybe.

Then ask Jessica Reif about Disney's fiscal health.

Reif, a media and entertainment analyst for the securities firm Oppenheimer & Co., said Disney is "one of the best-run companies in the industry, if not the best. . . . It's one of my top three [stock picks] and has been, actually, for months now."

Last year, she said, Disney's net income before accounting

changes was \$671 million. That was a bad year. "This year," Reif said, "we're estimating they'll do well over a billion." And in fiscal 1993, Disney Chairman Michael Eisner received \$203 million in salary and stock options.

So that clears up that. In Virginia, the more resources a company has and the less it seems to need welfare, the more eager the governor is to bare the public teat. Some legislators don't quite understand that philosophy and have mumbled something about reducing Allen's proposed state subsidies, but last week, Disney released a rather remarkable statement.

It told the elected representatives of the taxpayers of Virginia that they shouldn't do their job. Don't debate what we've asked for. Don't question it. Just give us the dough. Referring to state money for roads, promotion and equipment relocation, Disney said, "Our company cannot come to Virginia if these elements are not included in the final legislative package."

Me, I'd say: So don't come. If Khadija Noorani had to set up shop with no elements in any final legislative package, then Disney and Eisner can take their chances too. If they won't come without all the state help they've demanded, we'll just have to visit Disney's America wherever it finally winds up.

The legislature, however, seems inclined to answer Disney's gimme-gimme ultimatum by doing a Neville Chamberlain. Here, Mickey, take our money and Czechoslovakia too.

"If [Disney] creates jobs for other people," Khadija said, "it's good. But the thing is, they have money. . . . Because they are big, they can do anything. They can get all the help and all the money. But if you're small, you have to struggle."

"I worked very hard . . . to make something for myself. I still don't have anything. But I'm hoping."

Me too. She makes such good cheese steaks. So you might stop by. She could use the financial support.

**STEVE TWOMEY**

**The Washington Post**

MARCH 7, 1994

## BOOK REVIEWS

AN AFGHANISTAN PICTURE SHOW, or HOW I SAVED THE WORLD, by William T. Vollman; 1992; Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 264 pp. \$22.

Mark Twain was the last Innocent Abroad. In these days of instant communication, global village, CNN and all that, no one has the right to capitalize on a naïveté that is suspect in any person literate enough to write a book and get it published.

William T. Vollman describes a 1980 visit full of good intentions about helping the Afghans who were then at the beginning of their war against the Soviet invaders. It was a visit to Pakistan's Northwest Province rather than to Afghanistan, for he does not cross into the target of his good intentions until toward the end, and then only briefly and without much enthusiasm from either himself or the Afghans. Okay, many of the Western writers who flaunted their derring-do in all those years of conflict only put one toe across the frontier. I know, I know. Still Vollman irritates me.

In the first place, he refers to himself as The Young Man. This coy viewing of oneself as in a mirror is a literary device I never took to. But he hits an especially sour note early on when, after admitting surprise that the people around him were speaking Urdu, he says in parentheses: "But it must be admitted that the young man's attitude was endearing." Doesn't he know that "endearing" is a word like "charming" that one should wait for other people to say about one? ("Look, Ma, I'm endearing!")

The main source of my annoyance with The Brat, as I came to think of him, pops up in a review of a later published book of his, a group of short stories about Cambodian prostitutes. The New York Sunday Times Book Review said, "Trapped in his point of view, we learn little about Cambodia, aside from incidental local color. The feelings and thoughts of the people remain mostly as background to the journalist's whoring, or as a distraction from it."

The W-word (silent W) in that previous sentence gives a clue to the focus of Vollman's interests, later exploited by Spin Magazine which sent him to Thailand to buy a child prostitute and free her. He does get around. Carrying his Great Big Ego around with him, and no doubt there are people who care about Cambodia and Thailand the way I care about Afghanistan. Who cares about Vollman's psyche? It's enough to make you wish the New Journalism had never been invented.

Not long ago the New York Times Magazine published an article on Vollman, who must be admired for his productivity. He writes all the time. And he was described as trying to shrink his personality. What? Are critics taken in by fake modesty? (Look, Ma, I'm being modest!")

Why is so much attention paid to him? Well, Vollman is a very good writer. Here is his first bit of local color. He is eating chicken in a frontier restaurant. "The liquid ran through the tines of his fork, A perfect drop of oil remained on each point...It tasted as if they had cooked the entrails and feathers along with the bones. Fishing politely for a velvety snippet of blood clot..." Well, you get the idea, and we know what Vollman chose to describe in Cambodia and Thailand.

Another of my quibbles is his consumption of Sprite. Yes, the American soft drink. People are always buying Sprites for him, but there is no account of his treating any one else. He speaks of accepting the Sprites "with passive courtesy." Evidently he attributes this generosity to respect for his Americanness, and he comments several times that the men deferring are much older than he is. He should have been told that the Afghan tradition of hospitality includes reciprocity. And

since he records faithfully his trips to the bathroom, it is unlikely that he would let pass an event like buying a Sprite.

No doubt there are people who revel in Vollman's psyche, accepting all around him as wallpaper. But those who care about Afghanistan will resent that the country and people are being used.

Rhea Talley Stewart  
Hartford, Connecticut

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KYRGYZ REPUBLIC: IMF Economic Reviews (12) 1993, prepared by Peter Keller, Jonathan Dunn, L.E. Psalida, Jenaro Simpson, Harry Trines. P. van den Boogaerde, Zia Ebrahim-Zadeh, Z. Minton-Beddoes, & Janet Stotsky. Dec. 1993. \$15 (available from IMF Publications Service, 700 19th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20431.

General information about the new neighbors of Afghanistan is not readily available despite the oft repeated stories in the press. For that matter, hard data about Afghanistan too rarely is seen, except through the faithful services provided by the Agricultural Survey of Afghanistan, a group sponsored for over a decade by the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan. Much of what has been appearing about the individual countries of Central Asia has become once again subject to partisan politics, mainly because of limited sources. For these reasons, it is refreshing, if not exactly exciting, to see in print hard data which, with certain common sense reservations, one can assume to be reliable. How one goes on to interpret the data is dependent on the particular discipline & goal. The IMF reports are intended for use in arriving at a wide array of economic & financial policy decisions on an int'l & country level. But the richness of the data certainly makes the reports useful to businessmen as well, if only as a starting base.

The Kyrgyz have been members of the IMF since January 1992, & their economy has been reviewed at least 9 times by the IMF; their current allowed quota is about \$92 million. In addition to the IMF, USAID supports the country by \$60 million with a matching amount from Japan's Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, as well as other donors. This is an impressive amount for transition of the economy in a country that, though poor, has suffered none of the ravages of war as have Afghanistan & Tajikistan.

The problems of transition are myriad & require frequent monitoring. The IMF report is concerned with rates of inflation, the structure of the domestic economy in such areas as agriculture, industry & construction, transportation, communications & energy. Other sections deal with wages, prices & employment, public finance, money & credit, trade & exchange rates. The last section of the analysis tackles the issue of structural reform which the Kyrgyz appear to be tackling in a more comprehensive manner than neighbors who make piecemeal forays into certain fields.

The second portion of the volume provides charts & tables comparing 4 years - 1989 - 1992. Although real gross domestic product has fallen drastically between 1991 & 1992, and real prices have increased from 3% between 1989 & 1990 to about 2000% between 1991 & 1992, none-the-less there are also hopeful signs. For example, from annex table A 1 it is clear that actual privatization is up in such areas as consumer services, trade & catering, agriculture, construction, industry & transport. From this, -the beginnings of a new system of goods distribution can emerge that will eliminate the necessity for the large scale imports of food that were needed previously. Kyrgyzstan has been the fair-haired child of Washington almost since its independence despite its small size & lack of military potential (despite a shared

border with the PRC). If the Kyrgyz economic transformation can occur without ethnic tension & the confusion of economic transition with communist era rhetoric & expectations, then perhaps it will become a successful model for the entire region.

This report, despite its social science-related statics, offers little analysis that would grip the historian, political scientist or anthropologist. Indeed, there are small but glaring errors when recent history is tackled. It says nothing about who owns the new enterprises (the ethnic Kyrgyz of the rural areas or the strong emigre [Russian, etc.,] communities of the urban areas), which foreign countries are involved, or whether the transformation is equally benefitting society. Let's hope that that kind of analysis can be done as dispassionately as the financial & economic one, so that social & political surprises do not undo the apparent hard-won progress slowly being achieved.

Eden Naby  
CMES, Harvard

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

THE SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN, ANALYSIS & CHRONOLOGY by Tom Rogers, Greenwood Publishing Group, 88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881. 1992. 256 pp. \$55. ISBN 0-313-27907-1.

"Afghanistan & the Regional Powers" by Rasul Baksh Rais in ASIAN SURVEY, September, 1993.

From Marvin Weinbaum: "The Impact & Legacy of the Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" in CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS OF PAKISTAN, J. Henry Korson, Ed., Westview & Pak Book Corp.; "Post-Communist Afghanistan: Implications for Pakistan & the Region" in SOUTH ASIA AFTER THE COLD WAR, K.P. Bajpai & Stephen Cohen, Eds., Westview; & PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN: RESISTANCE & RECONSTRUCTION due from Westview in March.

The first edition of the ROSTER OF THE AFGHAN WOMEN'S INFORMATION NETWORK is available from the Afghan Women's Task Force, c/o Shirlee Taraki, 1864 Sherman, 7NW, Evanston IL 60201. The roster identifies women who are working on behalf of Afghan women. Copies of the Roster are \$3.

MUSLIMS IN CENTRAL ASIA, EXPRESSIONS OF IDENTITY & CHANGE, edited by Jo-Ann Gross, contains an article by Olivier Roy on "Ethnic Identity & Political Expression in Northern Afghanistan." The book was published in 1992 by Duke University Press.

AFGHAN WARS 1839-1992 by Edgar O'Ballance was published by Brassey's, 165 Dover St., London SE1 4YA. 258 pp. £19.95.

Dr. Sachi Ashrafzai has written two books in Dari: BUSINESS ACCOUNTING, DOUBLE ENTRY SYSTEM and MICRO COMPUTER, Vol. I. Both were published in Peshawar under the auspices of the German Afghanistan Foundation. (The author used both books while conducting 3-month seminars at the University of Herat.)

Pierre Centlivres prepared A 'STATE OF THE ART' REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON INTERNALLY DISPLACED REFUGEES & RETURNEES FROM & IN AFGHANISTAN for the 4th Int'l Research & Advisory Panel Conference on forced migration at Oxford in January 1994. 57 pp.

THE KINGDOM OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE UNITED STATES by Leon B. & Leila Poullada will soon be published by The Center for Afghan Studies at the Univ. of Nebraska (Omaha) & Dageforde Publishing (Lincoln). The 189 p. book is at the printers. We'll have more about it in the next issue.



# Afghanistan: a King's lament



The Nation (Pakistan) 1/31



**A**fter a prolonged spell of self-imposed silence and hibernation, Ex-King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan has, in deep anguish, spoken on the 'ongoing tragic events' in his country. The ex-monarch said that the 'prevailing situation and civil war' posed a threat to the 'existence' of Afghanistan.

Without naming anybody, Zahir Shah made a pointed mention of the 'enemies' of Afghanistan and the threat they had posed to the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan. The lust for power, he observed, must end and all the 'effective and influential' elements of Afghanistan 'in and out' of the country get together in a 'united front' for the sake of reconstruction and restoration of peace and security in their homeland.

The ex-monarch in particular addressed the Afghan *ulema* and *jehad* commanders to 'refer to the interests' of the 'downtrodden' nation and place them above their own parochial and personal interests. Stressing the urgent need for the formation of a 'trustworthy' Afghan delegation through 'consensus acceptable to the majority of the Afghans,' Zahir Shah suggested an 'emergency' meeting of the *Loya Jirga* under the auspices of the United Nations.

In keeping with the modesty and discretion characteristic of him, the ex-monarch would say nothing of the role he could and has, all along, been yearning to play in putting an end to the endless suffering of the land and people of Afghanistan. It was just as well as by overplaying his hand he could have unnecessarily provoked those of his fellow countrymen who, after their role in the armed struggle against the Soviets, tend to treat patriotism as their sole monopoly; and justifiably so except for their mutually antagonistic interpretations of patriotism.

In the present state of grand anarchy in Afghanistan, what is patriotism to Moulvi Younus Khalis or Abdul Rasul Sayyaf for instance, may well be, and unfortunately, is, nothing less than high treason to Hikmatyar and Dostum. Divided deeply along ethnic, sectarian and factional lines, one Afghan's meat is another Afghan's poison. There is no agreed, accepted or rational definition of anything in the mad struggle for power.

Known and recognised as the most fanatically inclined fundamentalist of the Mujahideen leaders, Prime Minister Hikmatyar is now an ally of Gen Abdul Rashid Dostum, reputed to be a dyed-in-the-wool communist and pillar of the Najibullah regime until April 1992, when he turned his flank to link up with Ahmad Shah Masood in a successful bid to overthrow Najib. A one-time favourite and protege of Saudi Arabia, Hikmatyar now openly accuses Saudi Arabia of interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs to make things worse for the land and people of his

Brigadier (Retd) A.R. Siddiqi

country.

The new year brought the Afghans what may well be described as easily the worst and the bloodiest phase of their civil war. In Afghanistan, it appears, there are no victors, no vanquished – only victims. And the victims are the land and the people of Afghanistan in deep trouble for well over two calendar decades since Sardar Daud's anti-monarchical coup in July 1973. The overthrow of established monarchy plunged the country into an endless abyss of destabilisation to create a geopolitical void conducive to a foreign invasion, war, a dubious peace and an endless terrifying civil war.

The latest phase of the Afghan civil war, rather fratricide, may well prove to be terminally devastating to leave an enormous wreckage of war that would take years to sort out. On final reckoning, the time lost through the various deadly crises could mean many a valuable decade of nation-building, peace and harmony, criminally thrown away. Sooner or later, the realisation would dawn on the Afghan people that they have been sinned against more by their own kinsfolk, their own leaders, than the foreign invader.

The worst part of the current and, unquestionably the deadliest phase of the Afghan civil war is the area of the conflict which covers the best part of the country, less the snow-covered mountains and odd, sparsely-populated villages. The principle flash points stretch from Jauzjan in the north-west to the capital, Kabul – almost bombed into a wilderness – extend eastward to Jalalabad and sweep across to Hirat in the south-west.

The area indicated represents the heartland of Afghanistan physically and its principal concentration area militarily. Of this the strongest held, through most of the war and after, had been Mazar-i-Sharif, the main base of Ahmad Shah Masood, the Afghan Jihad's most successful guerilla commander, and the headquarters of the Uzbek militia chief, General Abdul Rashid Dostum.

In April 1992, Masood and Dostum joined forces against the Kabul regime of President Dr Najibullah and overthrew it. Jointly they advanced up to Kabul at the head of their *lashkars*, seized the government and made the President run for his life and take refuge at the UN Headquarters where he is still supposed to be hiding.

As for Dostum, having taken control of the Bala Hissar Fort, Kabul airport and deploying his forces in certain other key areas of the capital, he returned himself to his headquarters at Shebegrin capital of the *Jauzjan* province integral to the Mazar-i-Sharif based northern command.

Eversince the establishment of the Mujahideen government in Kabul un-

der the Peshawar Accord of April 1992 and the eruption of the intra-Mujahideen conflict, in and around Kabul, Mazar-i-Sharif had stayed as the one oasis of peace and tranquillity in Afghanistan. Gen Dostum and the forces under his command representing the bulk of the state fighting machine still intact, remained in effective control of the northern area.

This, unfortunately, is no longer the case. Dostum's forces have expanded much of their fighting potential through the current stage of the conflict erupting about a month ago. Thus one credible force in the chaos of military and guerilla bands in Afghanistan, has been all but decimated in an essentially suicidal conflict.

Dostum had, very prudently and pragmatically, stayed out of the Rabbani-Hikmatyar confrontation, at the military and political levels until the outbreak of the new year war. He had hoped and waited, all along, for a positive gesture from Kabul to come and take his share of state power. The hope never materialised to make him desperate and join forces with Hikmatyar – his archenemy and the last man in the world he would have anything to do with.

As for Hikmatyar, he would make his pact with the devil himself to capture absolute power.

It would be recalled that on March 6, 1990, he joined hands with Gen Shah Nawaz Tanai, like Dostum, another die-hard communist and one of the pillars of Najibullah's government in what turned out to be an abortive anti-Najib coup. Hikmatyar has been known all through for his one obsessive passion for absolute power and aversion to share it with any individual or group.

Together Hikmatyar and Dostum make a formidable military combine. The question is whether the alliance of two such irreconcilable opposites, as Dostum and Hikmatyar, can last a minute longer – then either of the two decides for himself that it has outlived its utility for him and is needed no longer. That could and, in all probability, would touch the bloodiest phase of the factional war. Neither side would be strong enough either to win or vanquish the other. That would only leave victims – the land and the people of Afghanistan – to go on suffering without a cause.

Zahir Shah's appeal to his countrymen, especially the civil and military leaders, could not have been more relevant and well-timed than at the present stage of the deadly intra-Afghan fighting. He deserves to be heard if only as an elder of the family and a blue-blooded Afghan rather than as the ex-King. The Afghan (Mujahideen) aversion to royalty is one thing but his traditional respect for the elder is quite another. It is about time that respect for the elder is placed above the aversion to royalty and a King's lament is duly heard and taken as a message for a grand national reconciliation.

# CHRONOLOGY

1/3 - LAT - Rabbani's forces appeared to be holding out against the onslaught of the combined forces of Hekmatyar & Dostam. However, the airport was closed & Radio Afghanistan was off the air.

1/5 - PT - Fighting resumed in Kabul after a brief lull following an overnight snowfall. Some 30-40 families fleeing Kabul are reaching Jalalabad every day. There is no water or electricity in the southeast section & bakeries have been closed for the past 4 days causing an extreme shortage of bread.

1/6 - PT - Pakistan may close its border with Afghanistan in view of the severity of the fighting. A Foreign Office spokesman said that Pakistan "did not want that any material which could aggravate the fighting should go from its territory to Afghanistan." (See 1/13 & p.11)

1/8 - WP - The factions fighting in Kabul agreed to a 24-hour cease-fire to allow wounded to get to hospitals & civilians to flee battle zones.

1/9 - NYT & LA Daily News - Thousands of people fled Kabul during the cease-fire, including two dozen diplomats (see p.12).

- Frontier Post:

1/11 - Frontier Post: (see 1/13)



1/13 - WP - Pakistan closed the border at Torkham "for an indefinite period" but said it would allow entry by Afghans with valid travel documents as well as those who are seriously injured.

1/16 - LAT - According to Afghan sources in Pakistan, fighting has spread to the northern provinces of Samangan, Jozjan & Balkh.

- Asbury Park Press - A hashish caravan from Afghanistan was raided as it crossed Baluchistan. The 400-camel caravan yielded 40 tons of hashish.

1/22 - PT - A 50-vehicle convoy of tea, blankets, sugar & biscuits from Pakistan arrived in Jalalabad. The supplies are for refugees from Kabul.

1/24 - PT - Arabs working for Afghan refugees in Pakistan have been asked to leave Pakistan by 1/31.

- Asbury Park Press - Hekmatyar's forces rocketed Kabul yesterday, battering residential areas & hitting the TV station & the presidential palace. Dostam's pilots bombed the Wazir Akbar Khan area. The UN estimates that at least 100,000 people have left Kabul since January 1.

1/25 - PT - Hekmatyar proposed a formula envisioning a ceasefire & the resignations of both the President & the Prime Minister (see p. 8).



1/26 - PT - The UN Security Council called for an immediate cessation of the hostilities in Afghanistan & for the start of a process to create a broad-based gov't there.

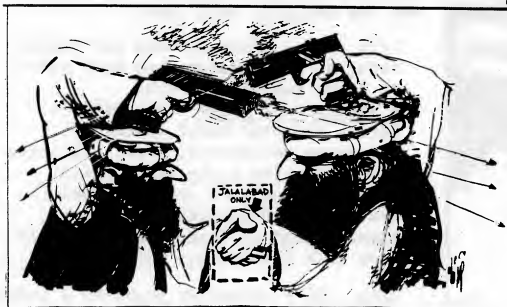
1/29 - The News (Pakistan):



2/1 - WP - Hekmatyar's forces rocketed southwest Kabul, opening a new front. Previous fighting had been confined to the south and east. The Shi'ites who control most of the southwest have, until now, remained neutral. The PT reports that the attacks were to divert Rabbani's forces from attacking Bala Hissar & Maranjan Hill, the last strongholds of Dostam. Hezb artillery shells hit the zoo & the TV tower. Reportedly the zoo still holds a tiger, a brown bear, a black bear, 2 lions & a vulture.

2/3 - PT - Rabbani, Gulbuddin & Dostum have responded positively to a Pakistani suggestion that Jalalabad City be declared a "safe haven."

2/5 - The Muslim:



2/10 - PT - A Jirgah, organized by the United Pashtun Tribes of Pakistan, has asked Zahir Shah to return to Afghanistan to help resolve the crisis. The Jirga called Zahir Shah "the symbol of Afghan unity." (See related article on p. 36.)

- Fresh fighting began & coincided with the visit to Pakistan of the Sec'y Gen'l of the OIC, Hamid Al-Gabid, to hold talks on the prospects for peace in Afghanistan. The OIC suggested that a cease-fire begin on the eve of Ramadan & said the "OIC was prepared to play a meaningful role in promoting an intra-Afghan peace process without any preconditions."



News 2/15

2/12 - PT - UN Sec'y Gen'l Boutros-Ghali named former Tunisian Foreign Affairs Minister Mahmoud Mestiri to head a UN mission to Afghanistan. The group is to consult Afghan leaders about how to help bring about a political solution in Kabul. (See 1/26.)

2/14 - PT - USAID turned over management of the Mine Detection Dog Center (MDC) to UNOCHA (see p. 6 ).

2/17 - NYT - A truce that began yesterday ended with a rocket attack. The UN is predicting famine if warring factions do not stop fighting so that food can be shipped into Kabul. (See p. 7.)

2/21 - NYT - Three masked Afghan gunmen hijacked a school bus in Peshawar & demanded that Pakistan provide money & food for war-ravaged Afghanistan. (See next page...

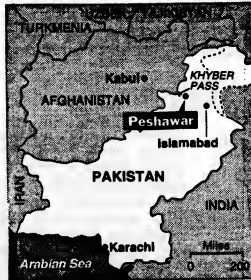
The gunmen forced the bus to drive 120 miles from the northwestern city of Peshawar to Islamabad, the capital. The kidnappers took the bus to the Afghan Embassy and were still holding 15 boys and one male teacher late today, witnesses said. They released 55 boys and six women teachers in the afternoon after holding them for several hours.

The gunmen said they did not belong to any of Afghanistan's feuding factions, but wanted to draw attention to the plight of ordinary Kabul residents.

The gunmen initially demanded \$500,000, then raised the demand to \$5 million. They also demanded that "truckloads of food" be sent to Kabul, where the heavy fighting has resulted in the food shortages.

"They are terrorists," Zahid Saad, Pakistan's Acting Foreign Secretary, said during a break in negotiations. "These demands are irrational, and they are only after money."

Interior Minister Nasrullah Babaar, who led negotiations earlier in the day, said he had promised the kidnappers a helicopter and safe passage to Afghanistan. He said Pakistan was eager to send food to Kabul, but would not pay the money sought by the kidnappers.



In Peshawar, a school bus was hijacked by Afghan gunmen.

The hostages were seated in one large room. The atmosphere was calm, and the boys were chatting among themselves, said a reporter for British Broadcasting Corporation who was allowed inside the embassy briefly.

The kidnappers said they would not release the boys, ages 10 to 13, until large amounts of food reached Kabul, an operation that could take days.

In addition to food and money, the kidnappers demanded that Pakistan reopen its border to Afghan refugees.

2/22 - Asbury Park Press - Pakistani army commandos stormed the Afghan Embassy in Islamabad & freed the hostages (see articles on pp. 9 & 10).

- PT - Pakistan's Interior Minister said that individual acts of terrorism will not affect Pak-Af bilateral relations. In a news conference, he said that the 3 hijackers had not been identified but that their accents suggested they might have been from Bamiyan or Parwan.

2/24 - PT - An angry mob of Afghans attacked the Pakistani Embassy in Kabul. The mob accused Pakistan of collaborating in a roadblock which has kept food supplies from reaching Kabul. Pakistan says it wants to end the blockade. The riot coincided with Pakistani Foreign Minister Sardar Asad Ahmed Ali's visit to Kabul to discuss peace (see p. 12).



Frontier Post 2/20

3/5 - NYT - Hekmatyar's forces blocked a UN food convoy taking food to Kabul. A spokesman for Hekmatyar said he would never allow food into the areas of the city controlled by Rabbani. The 6-truck convoy, carrying flour was stopped at Bagrami, about 9 miles east of Kabul, where Hekmatyar's force demanded that the flour be turned over to them.

3/9 - WSJ - Anti-Gov't factions fired hundreds of rockets in one of the most intense assaults on Kabul since 1/1. The Defense Ministry appeared to be the main target.

#### MORE ON THE BUS HIJACKING

In a statement, the Afghan Embassy in Islamabad reported that the bus stopped in front of the Parliament House. The Afghan Ambassador was asked by the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take part in the negotiations. Officials asked the hijackers to release all female students & teachers immediately. This was done. The hijackers were asked to go to the Pakistani Interior Minister's house to negotiate. They refused but proposed to go to the Afghan Embassy. The hijackers released 51 students & "the teachers & were permitted to enter the Embassy." The next day after much negotiation, the hijackers released the rest of the hostages except for 6 boys & 1 teacher. Late in the afternoon the hijackers proposed the following: US\$ 5m in cash; a helicopter to take them to an unknown place; exchanging the student hostages for new ones, including the Afghan Ambassador & some Pakistani officials, until the hijackers were safely on the helicopter; white clothes & 3 bags for the money.

After discussion, the Pakistanis "started their operation at 10:20 p.m., Feb. 21, 1994. The operation was completed in less than 10 seconds."

# Management of Mine detection centre handed over to Afghanistan

PT Bureau 2/14

PESHAWAR, Feb. 13: The USAID mission in Pakistan and Afghanistan turned over management of the Mine Detection Dog Centre (MDC) to the United Nations office for the co-ordination of humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan in a ceremony held at the MDC's Headquarters in Pabbi, NWFP.

Officials from the United States Embassy, UNOCHA, the Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan, as well as representatives from many Afghan NGOs and Demining agencies were on hand to mark the transfer.

Shohab Hakimi, newly-confirmed Director of the MDC, arranged the ceremony and appreciated USAID and UNOCHA for their continued support of demining in Afghanistan.

He noted that the current fighting in Kabul had not affected the work of the UNOCHA mine clearance programme.

Demining teams and dog teams are currently operating in 10 provinces of Afghanistan including Herat, Nimroz, Farah, Helmand, Kandahar, Paktia, Nangarhar, Parwan, Kapisa and Khost.

Mine detection dog teams were recently deployed to Sar Shahi camp for displaced persons, east of Jalalabad to assist the clearance of unexploded devices from the camp area.

Blackton and Barber emphasised that the purpose of the mine clearance programme in Afghanistan was to make identified regions safe for the return of refugees and internally displaced persons, and to enable them to resume normal economic and social activities.

UNOCHA initiated development of the mine awareness and clearance programme in key areas of Afghanistan well before the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989.

USAID began its mine-detection dog programme also in 1989, with 14 German shepherd in the company of Thai Handler/trainers.

These teams work in priority areas of Afghanistan besides UNOCHA-sponsored minefield survey and clearance teams from four different Afghan organisations.

These include Afghan Technical

Consultants (ATC), Mine Clearance Planning Agency (MCPA), Organisation for Mine Awareness and Reconstruction (OMAR), Demining Agency for Afghanistan (DAFA).

Feb. 1, marked the end of direct funding of the MDC through USAID's office of Afghan field operations. USAID and UNOCHA signed an agreement in

September, 1993, granting 3.6 million dollars in funds and 1.5 million dollars in property to the Afghan Emergency trust in Geneva, Switzerland.

The repository of all UNOCHA programme funds, UNOCHA in turn, signed a agreement with the MDC. USAID funds will continue to support the Mine Detection Dog Centre's operation for the next two years.

## Foreign Office clarifies report on Afghan issue

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 25: A section of the national Press has reported that the Foreign Minister to have stated that short of the resignations of Afghan President Rabbani and Prime Minister Hikmatyar there can be no solution to the Afghan problem. It has also been reported that Pakistan agreed with the demand of Afghan military commanders that both the leaders should resign to bring peace to their country.

A spokesman of the Foreign Office has clarified that the above

reports are based on a misperception of the Foreign Minister's Press conference given Monday before his departure for Teheran, says a bandout.

The demands for resignation and otherwise are conditionalities attached by rival Afghan factions for ceasefire. The Government of Pakistan has cordial relations with all the Afghan factions and groups. It has neither supported nor opposed these conditionalities.

The spokesman added that Pakistan has pursued a policy of non-interference since the establishment of the Mujahideen government in April, 1992 and feels that the use of force is not a viable option for resolving the Afghan problem. In the larger national interest, the Afghan leaders

## Afghan leaders not listening to anybody: Aseff

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 13: "We are going to make another appeal for cease fire to Afghan leaders," Foreign Minister Sardar Aseff (Ahmed Ali) said while answering a question at a Press conference here today.

"We are sad they (Afghan leaders) have not responded to our earlier call for a cease fire," he told a correspondent who wanted to know from him what would Pakistan do now that the Afghan leaders had not listened to its earlier call.

The Foreign Minister said they (Afghan leaders) were not listening to anybody. They had not listened to the United Nations call and they have not listened to the Organisation of Islamic conference call, he told the correspondent.

2/14

should agree to a ceasefire and initiate a political dialogue for a peacefully negotiated settlement.

The spokesman reiterated, the Government of Pakistan's resolve to strengthen bilateral relations with Afghanistan on the basis of internationally recognized principles of sovereignty and non-interference.

1/26

## Currency dealers hold Rabbani, Mahsood responsible

From Marjan Ali Shah

PESHAWAR, Jan. 24: The currency dealers of tribal areas, whose shops were looted in Serai Shalazad currency exchange market in Kabul, Afghanistan, have held the forces of President Burhaddudin Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Mahsood as responsible for looting the currency market.

They also threatened that if the looted capital worth of Rs. 2 billion was not returned, they would kidnap the leader of the said involved organisations and would also disassociate with the refugees of the said groups, living in tribal areas.

Addressing a joint Press conference here yesterday, they informed

the government that they had obtained shops legally in the said looted market and paid 15 lakh dollars to the Government of Afghanistan and President Rabbani and Mr. Ahmed Mahsood have accepted their full protection, but they alleged that two weeks before the forces of the said group (Rabbani and Mahsood) broke the locks of their shops with bullets and looted dollars, pounds, German marks, Afghani and Pakistani currency worth of Rs. 2 billion and even took away their wrist watches, boots and other belongings.

Later, they set on fire the shops by firing pockets, they added. They said that they had donated a

huge amount to all the Mujahideen groups without any affiliation and also regularly paying due taxes to the Government of Afghanistan.

They appealed to the Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan to make arrangements for the return of their looted capital, otherwise they would not be responsible for any dire consequences.

The affectees, present in the Press conference were, Haji Timur Khan, Haji Taleb Khan, Sharifullah Khan, Haji Khial Mohammad, Azimullah, Habibur Rahman, Zabit Khan, Umer Khetab, Jabbar Khan, Mir Rehman Khan, Haji Mohammad Adrees, Haji Beroz and Lal Mohammad.

1/25

# Food transportation to Kabul Senate body for judicious use of permits

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 25: The Senate Committee on Interior, States and Frontier Regions which met here today under the chairmanship of Senator Syed Muhammad Fazal Agha has underlined the need of issuing permits for transportation of foodstuff and other commodities to Afghanistan judiciously and completely in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

The committee had detailed and in-depth deliberations on the issue and felt that a practical and viable policy was needed to be formulated so as to ensure the supply of

food grains, wheat, atta and other commodities to the areas in Afghanistan where these were most needed.

The committee agreed that, before finalising its recommendations for streamlining the procedure of issue of permits for smooth transportation of essential items to Afghanistan, another meeting of the sub-committee be convened in which the representatives of the Ministries of Food and Agriculture, Foreign Affairs and Commerce be invited to enlighten the committee about their stand on the issue.—APP

PT 1/26

## Severe food shortage in Kabul: UNHCR

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 19: While many Kabul residents continued to flee the Afghan capital in between rocketing and bombardments by rival factions, there were increasing reports of severe food shortages, with some food convoys not being allowed to reach Kabul from Jalalabad report UNHCR.

The numbers of displaced Kabulites reaching Jalalabad continued to rise, with the main camp of Sarshahi now holding some 50,000 people, report UNHCR.

Entry from Afghanistan at the border with Pakistan remains restricted, except to those with valid travel documents and those allowed to enter on humanitarian grounds. Many of those entering the country illegally continued to

be arrested and deported.

The start on 11 February of the Muslim holy fasting month of Ramadan brought temporary relief to beleaguered or fleeing Afghans in Kabul where a four-day ceasefire was announced. In Kandahar too fighting subsided but the situation remained very tense, with rival forces on high alert.

UNHCR has suspended the encashment of refugee ration cards in Pakistan and Iran due to low demand during Ramadan.

The number of displaced persons in Jalalabad from Kabul continued to rise by 1,500 - 2,000 each day. The total now exceeds 100,000, some 50,000 of whom reside in Sarshahi, the biggest camp. The supply of tents is still insufficient.

Water is still being supplied by tanker, while pumping of water from the nearby canal started on February 14.

The health situation continued to be aggravated by insufficient supply and variety of food. World Food Programme (WFP) is planning to distribute pulses (chick peas), as well as tea and sugar to Sarshahi camp residents. Previously only wheat flour was available, with small quantities of other items being distributed by the local Shura Council and some NGOs.

Preliminary nutrition surveys showed 18 p.c malnutrition rates among under 5-year old (which is about average for the population in Afghanistan generally), and a 4 p.c. rate of severe malnutrition. Supplementary and therapeutic feeding programmes are being set up by the UNICEF and MSF. The main cause of sickness continued to be respiratory infections.

A new cases of measles have been reported and an immunisation survey and campaign are to start soon. Injuries from mines continue to be reported, specially among Afghans leaving the camp to cut firewood or searching for scrap metal. UNHCR has started distributing kerosene to be used for cooking which should reduce wood cutting in the area around Sarshahi, already severely deforested.

Demining teams supervised by UNOCHA continued to clear the ground in and around Sarshahi camp where more than 670 anti-personnel mines and other unexploded devices have been found.

An assessment of the situation of Afghanistan women in the camp reported that the mostly urban refugees felt "lost" and frightened, finding themselves in a very unusual situation.

The assessment, carried out by a UNICEF national social worker,

recommended an improvement in basic assistance being provided, to include clothes, shoes, tea, sugar and lamps, as well as the establishment of an address or landmark system to help orientation.

There was no indication of any risk to their personal safety or security in the camp. However with Jalalabad still a precarious "safe haven" from the current factional fighting in Kabul, the overall security situation in the area remained uncertain. At least one person was killed and 16 others injured in clashes at historic, some 15 kms from the main Jalalabad to Torkham Road.—APP

PT 2/20

## UN WANTS LASTING PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 15: The personal representative of the UN Secretary-General to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Mr. Mousouris told a questioner during a Press conference here today, that the UN besides continued relief efforts for the war victims was also actively striving to achieve a lasting peace in Afghanistan.

In response to question, Mr. Mousouris said, Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani was willing to honourably step down, provided other warring factions also agreed to form a new commission which should elect the next President of Afghanistan.

Quoting Afghan President, Mr. Mousouris said "Professor Rabbani feels that he cannot step-down under pressure."

He also informed that 800 people have died while over 12,000 injured during the recent fighting in Afghanistan.

He stated that more than 200,000 people were facing food shortage in Kabul alone while Jalalabad is host to over 100,000 refugees from the Afghan capital. "Out of these refugees about 85,000 are accommodated in four camps," he added.

Mr. Mousouris said the UN and other aid agencies along with local authorities are providing assistance to these displaced families.

Since Jan. 1 this year, these agencies have delivered to Jalalabad 2,540 tonnes of food, 172,500 litres of fuel, 6,102 tents, 5,138 tarpaulins, 47,000 blankets and about 154 tonnes of medicines.

He said the UN has trucks of food to send for Kabul but "we are trying to get guarantee of their security from the Afghans and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar has been contacted in this regard."

PT 1/16

## Afghans facing starvation



KABUL, Feb. 13: Civilians in the war-torn Afghan capital were more concerned Sunday about starvation and rising food prices than hopes of a ceasefire already dashed by continued fighting.

Basic foodstuffs like wheat-flour, cooking oil, sugar, rice, salt and tea have doubled — sometimes tripled — in price in the capital since ethnic Uzbek and ex-Communist General Abdul Rashid Dostam launched his failed New Year's Day coup attempt against Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani.—AFP

Cartoon — Frontier Post 1/14  
Article — PT 2/14



# Rabbani lauds Pak, Iran, Saudi Arabia & OIC efforts for peace

## Hekmatyar proposes 7-point formula to resolve Afghan crisis

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 24: Afghan Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar led Coordination council has proposed to Foreign Minister Sardar Asf Ali Ahmed Ali a seven point formula envisaging ceasefire and resignations of both Afghan President and Prime Minister to resolve the crisis, official sources told APP.

A representative delegation of the council grouping Hekmatyar's Hizb-i-Islami, Uzbek militia leader Abdur Rashid Dostum's Junbushie Milliye Islami, Jibbe Nijate Milli of Professor Sibghatullah Mujaddedi and Shite Hizb-i-Wahdat, have had over one-and-a-half-hour meeting with Ahmed Ali at Foreign Office.

The proposed formula besides ceasefire and resignations of both leaders, called for formation of a council to run the country till the general elections were held, the sources said.

The council also responded positively to Pakistan's proposal for convening a regional conference on Afghanistan to resolve the crisis.

Pakistan had proposed a regional conference to be attended by Pakistan, Iran Central Asian republics that border Afghanistan and possibly Saudi Arabia to sort out the current crisis in neighbouring Muslim country.

Foreign Minister Sardar Asf Ali Ahmed Ali prior to his recent trip to Geneva to attend OIC contact group meeting have had met representative of President Burhanuddin Rabbani, Engineer Ahmed Shah Ahmed Zai and had communicated the said proposal to him who had promised to get Foreign Office back on the subject. However, the response from Afghan President is still being awaited, the sources said.

Meanwhile, a five-member delegation of Shura-i-Hamang led by Hashmatullah Mujaddedi also met Foreign Minister Sardar Asf Ali Ahmed Ali here on Monday and had extensive exchange of views on political and military situation in Afghanistan.

President of Afghanistan, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani on Monday thanked the government of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, OIC and UNO for their efforts aimed at the establishment of peace and tranquility in the war ravaged Afghanistan.

In a speech broadcast last night on Radio Kabul, Mr. Rabbani said that the neighbouring countries particularly Pakistan made hectic efforts to put an end to the blood bath in Afghanistan and "we are thankful to the Government and people of Pakistan for their generous efforts and struggle in this regard." He made it clear that nobody could reach to the corridor of power through conspiracies and other inhuman acts.

He said that the present uprising in Afghanistan is not an indigenous one rather it had been prepared by anti-Islam and anti-Afghanisthan elements outside the country. He said, fighting in Kabul would continue till the time anti-government forces surrender themselves.

The Afghan President while referring to the future political set-up of the country, said that, keeping in view the present situation, the Afghan people by holding grand Jirga, could elect new leadership for the country.

There was minimal shelling in Kabul on Monday, but the casualty toll for the first three weeks of factional fighting between forces for and against President Burhanuddin Rabbani has risen to nearly 10,000.

According to figures released by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) there were 9,593 casualties admitted to the 10 functioning hospitals in Kabul for the first 21 days of battle, with a conservative estimate of 700 to 800 killed.

The relative calm in Kabul on Monday was exploited by residents of the frontline new Mirorajan housing estates to flee their apartments for safer north-western parts of the capital.

Apart from the intense artillery

# Afghan cabinet's proposals

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 21: A special commission of the Afghan Cabinet has announced a package of proposals, regarding installation of the new government and new president at the completion of the tenure of President Rabbani next June.

According to BBC the commission announced that it wanted to coordinate its peace initiative with that of Maulvi Jalaluddin Haqqani, presently playing an active mediatory role between the two warring sides in Kabul.

BBC reported from Kabul, that the Chairman of the Cabinet Commission and Minister for Planning, Syed Muhammad Ali Javed said that the world people were aware that Kabul had been a scene of fierce fighting over the past 20 months. He said that internal problems of Afghanistan should be solved through peace and negotiations.

Mr. Javed said that he wanted to coordinate the peace initiatives of the cabinet commission with those of Maulvi Jalaluddin Haqqani. Mr. Haqqani is the Afghan Minister for Justice but he has not taken the charge of his office as yet. At the moment, he is making mediatory efforts to bring peace between President Rabbani and Prime Minister Hekmatyar. Mr. Javed did not elaborate as to how the Cabinet commission would help promote the peace process but the main stress of his package is the

proposal about setting up a government and installing a president who will replace President Rabbani at the completion of his tenure in next June.

The proposal is the typical Afghan formula or the Loya Jirga. The cabinet commission proposed that the Jirga should be formed within next five months and should include about 100 politicians, spiritual leaders and Ulama. The problem is that President Rabbani had been elected by an assembly or the Shura-e-Hal-o-Aqd and his opponents are disputing the legality of his election. However, almost all observers are unanimous that there was no possibility of holding elections in Afghanistan in the near future. Mr. Javed said that the commission was asking the UN and the OIC to supervise the process of electing the new government and president.

On the other hand, Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar has announced yesterday that no convoy of food stuff would be allowed to pass to Kabul until President Rabbani tendered his resignation. Blockade of relief convoys has badly affected the areas under the control of President Rabbani's forces.

Mr. Hekmatyar's spokesman Nawab Saleem said that President Rabbani should resign, all the armed groups should be expelled from Kabul and security of the city be handed over to local commanders. He said that the food stuff convoys should, when allowed to enter Kabul, unload the commodities at three points.—APP

2/22

barrage inflicted on these civilians by the Uzbek forces of the anti-Rabbani ex-communist General Abdul Rashid Dostum, and his Pushtun ally Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, they were severely bombed by a jet on Sunday afternoon.

A spokesman for Rabbani's military strongman, former Defence Minister Ahmad Shah Masood, told APP there would be no early end to the factional fighting, but expressed confidence that the Dostum-Hekmatyar alliance would be defeated.

He said some commanders of Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami faction were being won over to Rabbani's side because of their displeasure at Hekmatyar's partnership with Dostum, who fought most of the 14-year Afghan Jihad against the mujahideen.—Agencies 1/25

## Opium drought



A prolonged dry spell in Pakistan has withered most of the country's huge illegal opium crop.

"This was help from God, but we will not pray for it to come again because it also destroys other crops," Interior Minister Naseerullah Khan Babar said. The drought has destroyed 80 percent of the poppy crop from which opium is produced in the semi-autonomous North West Frontier tribal region.

The Atlanta Journal  
The Atlanta Constitution

Feb. 12, 1994

# Afghan hijackers killed in three-minute commando action

By Mariana Baabar

ISLAMABAD: All the three Afghan kidnappers were killed and the six hostages were rescued unharmed as at around twenty minutes past ten Monday night Pakistani army commandos stormed the Afghan Embassy and brought the 39-hour long ordeal to an end amidst what looked like panic at first as the silence of the night was suddenly shattered by a loud explosion followed by shouts, thudding of army boots and sirens of rushing ambulances.

The entire operation lasted for about three minutes but to the on-lookers it seemed like ages before they could find out that one platoon of commandos belonging to SSG participated in the action while other agencies provided the necessary back-up. There were no casualties on the commando side.

"I am very proud of the SSG. They have done a magnificent job," said Corps Commander Lt Gen Ghulam Mohammad as soon as the bloody drama came to an end.

According to details of the action, Major Baqir of SSG leading 12 of his men led the attack. A short explosion was caused to divert the attention of the kidnappers and then they were rushed which resulted in a shoot-out and the killing of the three terrorists. Just before the action, one of the kidnappers had separated from his two compatriots.

"A lot of shooting took place," said Interior Secretary Jamshed Burki when he was asked after the action if the kidnappers had time to retaliate.

Jamshed Burki told the waiting newsmen that the bodies of the kidnappers will be sent for autopsy and "we will see if they have any identification papers on them".

Acting Foreign Secretary Zahid Saeed said the kidnappers stuck to their demands that they should be paid a ransom of five million dollars and provided a helicopter to be flown to north of Kabul.

"We could not bow down before such terrorist acts. Otherwise it will occur on daily basis," he added.

The dead bodies of the three kidnappers have been rushed to the Pakistan Institute of Medical Sciences for post mortem.

The Afghan authorities denied the waiting local and international media permission to enter the embassy to see the site of action and the dead bodies of the kidnappers. However,

the PTV crew was seen going in.

Earlier in the evening, conflicting signals were emitting from the Afghan Embassy on how successful the negotiations had been so far with six hostages still in the hands of the kidnappers. Eight children were freed earlier including Kamran Khan, Mohammad Moazzam and Taher Siddiq. The six which had remained hostages

till the last were Abdul Wahab, Hassan, Umar Javed, Irfan Faridun and Yasir Sarfaraz. They are still in the Afghan Embassy. One of their male teachers Shafullah is also with them.

The Afghan Ambassador told the media that about five thirty in the evening the negotiations with the Afghans had been completed and that they had dropped their demand of money but were now only insisting on two thousand trucks of food and a safe passage through Jalalabad included in the territory of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar.

The director of the school who had also arrived from Peshawar meanwhile said the kidnappers had offered the release of the four children late in the evening at 7:16 on their own to the authorities.

Unconfirmed reports said some of the children were playing sick (on the advice of the negotiators) to get the kidnappers to release them. The kidnappers seemingly also wanted to keep as few children as they could for easier mobility. For the government also it was a good strategy because as it transpired later, they wanted as few children in the room as was possible at the time of commando action.

The children released earlier were spending the night at the Marriott Hotel before going back to Peshawar in the morning. The director of the school also gave the same version as the Afghan Ambassador.

Informed sources said the Foreign Office and the army prevailed upon Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto that if the Afghan kidnappers were freed, this would send wrong signals and others would be encouraged by this release. It was at this stage that plans were drawn out for the arrest of the kidnappers.

But the version of the Afghan Ambassador at this point of time suggested as if the former plan of giving free and safe passage to the kidnappers would be implemented. He said the kidnappers should be thankful that the law enforcing authorities had dealt with them in a lenient manner.

He insisted that the Afghans were no longer demanding any money. He said now there was no need to overpower the kidnappers and there was no danger to the life of the children. They are watching video, eating food and relaxing, he said.

The Afghan Ambassador said they were working closely with the Pakistan authorities including the Corps Commander. He said talks had finished at three in the morning and restarted at seven in the morning. He said any brutal action of terrorists should be condemned. He said the future relations of the two countries would not be affected. But he once again emphasised that an overall agreement had been reached and that the rest of the children would be released by six in the morning.

The teacher, Shafullah, was offered safe passage as he is over 70 but he refused as he said his responsibility lay with the children.

According to Jamshed Burki who left the premises at around 8 pm negotiations were still going on and that no final agreement was yet reached. He asserted that the kidnappers (he called them hijackers) were still demanding five million dollars plus safe passage for food trucks.

One source said that on Sunday the interior minister had convinced them to accept money in Afghanistan. He did not agree with the version of the Afghan Ambassador and said the kidnappers were negotiating with the Pakistan government and if the Afghan Ambassador so desired he could give the Afghans the money.

The basic problem is still of the money, he said, adding that he could not at this stage say how long it would take for talks to succeed. He also added that the kidnappers wanted the food trucks to have a safe passage through the territory of Hekmatyar. He said that since the kidnappers were inside the Afghan Embassy they were associating the Afghan Ambassador with them. They are demanding money from the Pak government and not from the Ambassador," said Burki. He also added that these Afghans were from the Parwan province and were affiliated with Commander Ahmed Shah Masood.

A new question that was raised before the action was taken why the professional Pakistan negotiators who have been trained abroad specifically for such occasions were not being included in these negotiations with the Afghans.

Sources said there are two dozen EMG police trained in London Heron Police College and in the FBI USA. They primarily deal with special hostage negotiations. There are three such specialists in Islamabad. Another point, they said, was that negotiations should start from a very low level and then go to a higher plane.

"If the interior minister starts the

negotiations, will you have the PM coming in later," asked one critic.

Replying to this Interior Minister Babar said: "You have to understand that you are dealing with an Afghan mind and not one that is a product of the West. We have spent all our lives with the Afghans and know them well. As for starting on a high scale who wanted to come and talk to these armed Afghans. Who stopped anyone from coming and going inside the bus. As soon as I found about the children and the women in the bus with armed kidnappers I went inside immediately and at least got the bulk of them released very soon," he said.

By nine in the evening, a source said the strategy of the Pakistan government was now to tire out these Afghans and then overpower them.

NEWS (Pakistan) 2/22

## Afghan President, PM denounce bus hijacking

ISLAMABAD: Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani and Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar Monday expressed shock and grief over the kidnapping of the school bus from Peshawar by three Afghans.

In a message to President Farooq Leghari, Rabbani said: "The leadership of the Islamic State of Afghanistan would like to express its deep sorrow and grief over the sad incident in which a number of Pakistani children became hostage."

"The government and people of Afghanistan strongly condemn this criminal, anti-Islamic and anti-human action."

The Islamic State of Afghanistan strongly condemned all kinds of terrorist activities which damaged individual and social security, peace and violated international norms as well as Islamic principles, Rabbani concluded.

In a separate message to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Hekmatyar condemned the inhumanly act in the strongest terms, urging the Pakistan government to impart the most severe punishment to the culprit or hand them over to the Afghan government for a legal action.

This heinous crime, he said, had indeed baffled and embarrassed the Afghans. —APP

NEWS 2/22

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

ACBAR	- Agency Coordinating Bureau for Afghan Relief
AIG	- Afghan Interim Government
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- Christian Science Monitor
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FBIS	- Foreign Broadcasting Information Service
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
ICRC	- Int'l Committee of the Red Cross
KT	- Kabul Times
LAT	- Los Angeles Times
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- New York Times
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PCV	- Peace Corps Volunteer
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PT	- Pakistan Times
PVO	- Private Voluntary Organization
RC	- Revolutionary Council
ROA	- Republic of Afghanistan
SCMP	- South China Morning Post
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNOCA	- United Nations Office of the Commissioner for Afghanistan [sometimes UNOCHA]
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WSJ	- Wall Street Journal

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